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THE

Common Rights

OF

SUBJECTS,

DEFENDED:

And the NATURE of the

Sacramental Test,

CONSIDER'D.

In Answer to the Dean of CHICHESTER'S Vindication of the Corporation and Test Acts.

By BENJAMIN, Lord Bishop of BANGOR.

LONDON

Printed by W. Wilkins, for J. KNAPTON at the Crown, and TIM. CHILDE at the White-Hart, in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1719.

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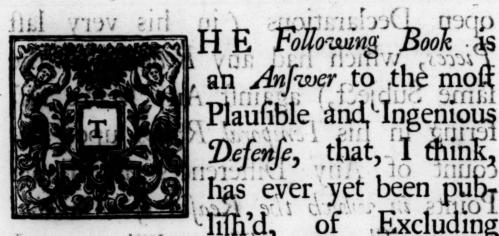
LONDON

Printed by 14' Wilkins, for J. Knarronattle Crown, and Tim. Children at the White-ILlust, in St. Paul's Charch-Yard. 1719.



Whoever has at any Time look'd into what has formerly pass'd between the Dean of Chichester and My self; Whoever has pass'd fitter the Genes

so often heretofore refer'd to; or His



Men from their Acknowledged Civil Rights, upon the Account of their Dif-

forences in Religion, or in the Circumstances of Religion; and of making the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, instituted by our Lord, for the Remembrance of Himself, the Instrument of this Exclusion, by a New Humane Institution.

Whoever has at any Time look'd into what has formerly pass'd between the Dean of Chichester and My self; Whoever has consider'd either the Genius and Tendency of His Famous Sermon, so often heretofore refer'd to; or His open Declarations (in his very last Pieces, which had any Relation to the same Subject,) against Any Man's suffering in his Temporal Rights upon account of Any Differences in Those Points in which the Reason of Mankind permits Them to differ: Whoever, I say, has at all consider'd these, must be

be very much surprized at a Man of such Abilities, writing a Whole Treatise, in the very Face of such Contrary Principles, not One of which has been yet at all disown'd, or disayow'd by Him.

But when the Reader shall not only remember this; but find, in the Sequel of this present Debate, That the Dean himself could not either enter into, or stir a Step in, the Cause now before Us, without Multitudes of Self-Contradictions, and Palpable Inconsistencies, both in his Facts and in his Reasonings, in this one and the same Book, and sometimes in one and the same Page: He not only will be furpriz'd, but will not forbear to remark that This must be a strong Sufficion against the Goodness of the Cause it self, when it is seen that such an Hand, set on Work by so much Zeal and

and to much Inclination, could not defend it, without giving it up; nor avow even the Jostest Principles necessary to that Defense, without dropping, from Time Time, Salvoes and Concessions and Antidotes fully sufficient to destroy

But when the Reader shall not only Suns Pfirft enter'd into this Debate, "ill the Simplicity of My Heart ? To I Have proceded The it with the Freedom and Openings, suitable to fo Important a Sub geet. And if I have, by my Plain Speak ing and Undisguised Declarations, in the following "Sheets, given the Dean any Advantage towards his Representing Me to the World; as He has long uled to do; He will hot be displeased with Me for that And for My felf, I shall not envy Him an Advantage which necessarily refults from my Defire of Tincerely and uniformly purfuing the Argument thro bns

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all its Just and Unavoidable Consequences; and in which I shall ever have this Comfort, That, by I know not what Factality, He himself is almost always agreeing with Me, even at the Expense of Self-Contradiction, in what He most of all condemns in Me, because I maintain it without Self-Contradiction.

But whatever Disadvantage, of this or any other sort, I may lie under; and whatever Representations may be made of Me, or my Unknown Designs, in order to rob Me of the Impartiality, or Attention, of Any who are concern'd in this Debate: Neither He, nor any one else, can rob Me of the Inward Satisfaction I enjoy, in the Sincere Endeavours I have used to propose and recommend such Principles, as may at length, with the Assistance of more Able Hands, essectionally serve to establish the Interests

vili The PREFACE.

of our Common Country and our Common Christianity, of Humane Society and True Religion, of the Present Generation and the Latest Posterity, upon one Uniform Steady and Consistent Foundation.



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ANSWER

TO THE

Dean of CHICHESTER'S Vindication, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

N my late Answer to the Representation of the Committee of the Lower House of Convocation, I thought it my Duty to pay a particular Regard to what the Dean of Chichester had been

pleas'd to urge against Me. I esteem'd it neither too low, nor too tedious a Work, to examine what a Person of his Abilities and Reputation had offer'd to the World. I carefully consider'd it all; without omitting any one Observation, as far as I can recollect, upon which He himself appear'd to lay any Stress. With this View, I spent many Sections in that Work, both under the first and second Article of the Charge against Me, in clearly proving that, in what He had alledged, He had either

either greatly wander'd from the Sense and Design of the Committee, which He profes'd to defend; or had laid those Points to my Charge, which were never in my Thoughts; or had advanced no Proofs in any Degree proportionable to the Warmth and Zeal He put on, in the Face of the World, for a Cause, in the darling Principles of which He has hardly ever yet suffer'd his Pen to write one hearty plain Word. And, befides All this, as the Best Argument I could urge to Him, in my own Justification, as well as the Best Defense I could plead before the World against His Attack in particular, I shew'd at full length, by a Number of Passages, never yet disavowed, or given up by Him, his perfect Agreement with Me, in those very Sentiments, for which He had used Me with an Unkindness, and a Severity, never, I believe, equall'd in Any Controverly but the prefent.

One would have thought that the World had fome fort of Right, upon such an Occasion, to have received from the Dean's Hands, the Reasons and Grounds of such a Conduct; at least, some Defense of what He had urg'd against Me, if He were resolved it should still stand as Truth. But this was not thought adviseable. It was esteem'd a more easy, or certainly a more Popular Task, to defend the Testadd, (the great Bulwark, as it is call'd, of the Church of England,) than to defend Himfels. At least, This would be a New Topic, which as yet had not been seen attended with those

those palpable Self-contradictions, which had been discovered to surround, and even to oppress Him, on all sides, in other parts of the Dispute: and This might serve to turn the Eyes and Thoughts of the World from that Heap of Past Inconsistencies, which it was now time to suffer to drop into Forgetfulness. And thus the Dean, passing by the Main Principles of the whole Debate; and neglecting What was past, as if it had never been, whether it concern'd the Main Cause it self, or His own Remarkable Conduct in it; publishes His Vindication of the Corporation and Test Acts, &c.

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I pass over the Popular Address of his Title-Page, in which He undertakes to write in Answer to my Reasons for the Repeal of these Acts; by which All, who are too much prejudiced to read on both sides, will not be led to judge that These Reasons are only a Few Words, accidentally drop'd in the Body of Another large Debate. I shall pass over, as much as the Nature of the Cause will permit, all the Severity of his Wit and Satyr, so plentifully scatter'd throughout this short Work.

In answer to what He is careful to observe more than once, That He endeavours to justify the Legislature; to justify the Laws of his Country, which He represents Me as arraigning, and condemning; I beg leave to tell Him, here at the Entrance, once for all,

1. That there was a Time when the Laws of the Country were on the fide of a Popish Establishment; and that the writing on the side of any

Law, as fuch, is not, in it felf, a thing exceedingly to be boasted of: 2. That the Whole of the Question is, whether the Laws we defend, be good and just; equitable and righteous; and not, whether They be the Laws of the Land, or not: 3. That it is fo far from being a Crime, or an Affront to any Legislature, to endeavour to shew the Evil Consequences, or Unequitableness, of any Law now in being; that All Lawmakers, who act upon Principles of Public Justice and Honour, cannot but esteem it an Advantage to have fuch Points laid before them: 4. That, for My self, I shall ever, I hope, esteem it as great an Honour to contend against debasing any of Christ's Institutions into Political Engines, as Others can do, to plead on the fide of an Act of Parliament: 5. That I enter into this Cause, both as a Christian, and, I trust, as One truly concern'd for the Public Good of the Society to which I belong; confidering it, not as the Cause of any particular Body of Men, or any particular fort of Christians, distinct from others; but as the Cause of All Men equally, and of All sorts of Christians, who, in feveral Places, and at feveral Times, have an equal Interest in it: 6. That therefore, as in this Cause I can no more use any Arguments, which contend for the least degree of Injury or Hardship, than I can Those which urge the Necessity of the greatest; so I will not scruple to make use of Any Just Reasonings, founded upon the Principles of Humanity and Christianity, merely for fear of being thought thought to favour Those, who happen at prefent, in this Country, to stand in need of them: To Whom I have no other Attachment, than what arises from Justice, Equity, and Christian Charity; and to Whom No Benefit can accrue from Them, but what must likewise equally accrue to Other Christians, and Other Protestants, who are, or ever shall be, in any part of the World, in the like Circumstances of differing from any Church, established and sup-

ported by Civil Power.

Principles are not of that Nature, as either to be made, or unmade, at pleasure; just as particular Junctures, and particular Views, call for them, or not: Nor do they deny the good Influence of their True and natural Consequences to any Set of Men, just at our Command; either according to the Motions of our Like or Dislike, Love or Hatred, or to the Workings of our prefent Designs and Interests. What soever was at first agreeable to the Original End of Christianity, is fo still, at all Times, and in all Places. Whatfoever is built upon the Fundamental Principles of Humane Society, is unalterable and unmoveable, equally and alike every where. And therefore, if what I have to fay be conformable to the Nature and Defign of the Gospel; as well as to the Universal Good of Mankind; it will easily stand against the little Topics, and the Confined Arguments, drawn from any Accidental Events, or Partial Considerations, peculiar to This or That particular Set of Men; or appropriated to any one Age or Country alone, of CHAP. the World.

CHAP. I.

In which are consider'd All the Preliminary Observations and Arguments made use of by the Dean, before he states the Main Questions, upon which the present Debate turns.

The Dean's State of the Fact, consider di

HE Dean, before He comes to the Two Questions, upon which he makes the Whole of the prefent Debate to rely, spends above Twenty Pages in what He calls Stating the Fact of the Case, about which we differ; complaining of the Want of Accuracy in the Writers in this Controversy, and endeavouring to rectify several of my Mistakes in some Expressions upon this Subject: Which Part of his Work I must confider, merely because He seems to think that much depends upon it. He first gives Us a short Account of what the Corporation and Test Acts enact, viz. the Former, that No Person Shall—be Mayor, &c. who Shall not, within a Tear before his Election, have taken the Sacrament, according to the Rites of the Church of England: and the Latter, that - Every Person-that shall bear any Office-Civil or Military, &c .shall—receive the Sacrament—according to the

Proof of this—upon Pain, &c. And after this,

* He goes on to argue thus; 'These Acts
being made for the Security of the Church,
as by Law established; i. e. for the Security of the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the
Realm; the Intention plainly was to keep Nonconformists of All Sorts—out of Offices Civil
and Military &c. And this he represents
as a Result of a Resolution of the 'Legislature, that Places of Power and Trust should
be in the Hands of such only as were wellaffected to the Ecclesiastical Constitution: putting Me in Mind particularly 'that Affection
for the Establish'd Government includes a
'Concern for the Public Peace both of Church
and State.'

The several Mistakes in these sew Lines are very visible. I. When the Corporation Ast was made, Many of those Ministers, who afterwards dissented, were in Possession of their Livings, and had been declar'd by King Charles II. himself, but a few Months before, to have been found by Him, when They waited on Him in Holland, Persons full of Zeal for the Peace of the Church and State. Those Particular Nonconformists, who were Followers of these Men, could hardly be design'd so soon to be excluded from any Offices, merely in order to the Preservation of the Public Peace, &c. 2. The Test Ast was particularly and peculiar-

ly levell'd at Papists; and not at Nonconformists in general; nor at all at Protestant Dissenters, against whom now the Dean so strenuously urges it. It was not, in the Original Defign of it, a Law for the Particular Security of the Church of England, as fuch, or of the Ecclefiaftical Constitution of the Realm; as He is pleas'd here to affirm it to be; but for the Security of the State, and of the whole Protestant Cause, against Papists alone, as He himself, in Effect, afterwards owns. 3. The Exclusion of Nonconformists of ALL Sorts, was not therefore, the certain Intention of Either of these Acts: and undoubtedly, not of the Latter. 4. There could be no fuch Resolution in the Legislature, as the Dean mentions; because Receiving the Communion according to the Usage of the Church of England, is so far from implying in it, that He who so receives it is well-affected to the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Realm, that it is perfectly consistent with the Person's not fo much as knowing one Individual Branch of that Constitution, unless it be the Office and Manner of the Celebration of the Communion. 5. A true and real Concern for the Peace of Church and State, does not always imply in it, so much as a Conformity, in any one Act of Communion, with the Church which happens to be establish'd in any Country; or, in the Dean's Phrase, to be the Ecclesiastical Constitution of any Realm. The good and honest Reformers were, I presume, as truly concern'd for the Public Peace both of Church and State,

in Queen Mary's Days, as Any of those Papists who constantly conformed to Her Church. And yet, They totally and openly separated from it. They were Nonconformists; and yet had a true and sincere Concern for the Peace of Church and State: which I only mention to shew that Nonconformity to a Church Established by Humane Laws, cannot be, in it self, a certain Sign to Christians, of any Want of a Due Concern for the Peace of Church and State; and therefore, that the fore-mention'd Words, relating to the Preservation of the Public Peace, cannot prove this Intended Exclusion of Nonconformists of All Sorts, and of All Tempers.

SECT. II.

The Dean's Reasons for what is Enacted in the Corporation and Test Acts, consider'd.

AFTER having stated the Fast in this manner, the Dean goes on to give his own Account of the Reasons and Grounds of what is enacted in the Two Asts before Us. And as it is sitting it should be, so we shall here find it, that his Reasons are exactly proportionable to His State of the Fast.

twice upon the Common Service of the Church, is no Proof of a Man's being a Well-wisher to the Constitution of our Church: it being well known that many who dislike it, can permit themselves to be present at Part, or at All, of our Common Service. 2. He says That the Legislature could not determine, how often going

ing to Church made a Church-man. [As if the Design of these Acts had been to determine what it is that makes a True Churchman; and the Act of once receiving the Sacrament had been pitch'd upon, as an Undoubted Mark of this.] 3. The only Thing, therefore, He fays, which remained, was to fix upon some particular Act of Church-Communion, as the most probable Evidence that a Man was fincerely wellaffected to the Establish'd Church. In this View, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper naturally offer'd itself, &c. And so it was enacted, &c. p. 7, 8. Now, according to the Best of My Judgment, here is not, in All this, one fingle Thing advanced, but what directly destroys his own Design, and turns the Argument

strongly against Himself. For,

1. If an Attendance now and then upon the common Service of the Church would be no Proof of a fincere Affection to our Church, for this Reason, (as he says) because it is well known that Many Nonconformists can and do now and then, joyn in it; then certainly neither can the Receiving the Communion once, according to the Usage of the Church of England, be any fuch Proof; because it is full as well known that Many of the same Sort, and even of their Ministers themselves, have no manner of Scruple about receiving it now and then, voluntarily and without any View to any Civil Office, according to that Ufage. This is now, and has long been, a notorious Matter of Fact. Nor is there any closer Connexion between receiving the Communion once a Year, in

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our Churches, and being a fincere Well-wisher to our Ecclesiastical Constitution; than there is between liking one Part of our Worship enough to join in it, and liking Every thing belonging to our Church-Government, and Discipline; which even any Constant ordinary Communicant may be perfectly ignorant of, without any Crime. 2. Is it not manifest that even the Founders of this Church themselves not only dislik'd, but inveigh'd bitterly against, many Parts of this same Ecclehastical Constitution? That many of the best Church-men have labour'd and pray'd for very material and confiderable Alterations? And from whence therefore, can it appear, or by what Connexion, that one fingle Act of Communion can at length be made a Proof of the Communicant's sincere Affection to the whole Ecclefiastical Constitution? 3. It is indeed, That part of religious Worship which Christians generally think themselves obliged to approach with Sincerity and Uprightness; as the Dean here observes. But what Relation has any Christian's approaching to the Sacrament, in our Churches, with Uprightness, to his approving of every thing else in our Constitution? He knows very well that Mr. Baxter and Dr. Bates frequented our Communions; and without doubt fincerely, because They had nothing but their own Persuafion to carry them thither; and yet he knows, this Sincerity in communicating with our Church, was so far from implying a sincere Affection to our Ecclesiastical Constitution, that it was

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was confistent with a stated Nonconformity; and a hearty Zeal in it. 4. He adds, 'that it was reasonably presumed that no Dissenter of any fort would eafily be led to fuch an Act of Infincerity, as receiving the Sacrament in a manner condemn'd by himself.' But this likewife turns against his own Defign. For, as it is notorious that there are Numbers of Dissenters, who have, for the Course of many Years, not only declared the manner of receiving the Communion in our Church to be, in their Judgments, lawful; but by their Practice have shewn that They do not condemn it as Unlawful! This fort of Nonconformists could be guilty, in communicating with Us, of no Infincerity, because by receiving the Sacrament, according to the Usage of the Church of England, They received it in a manner NoT condemn'd by Themselves; but judg'd to be lawful by their own Consciences. And by Consequence, The Legislature could not design This for the Exclusion of Nonconformists of ALL Sorts: because all the World knew, and many Members of the Legislature themselves knew, that there was a Number of Nonconformists, who could, with a fafe Conscience, and according to the avowed Principles and Practice of Themfelves, and their most celebrated Teachers, comply in this Particular; and receive the Communion according to the Usage of the Church of England. 5. In the Test-Act particularly, it is evident beyond Denial, that the receiving the Communion according to our ManManner, was not enjoyn'd in it, as a Load and Embarrassment upon the Protestant Dissenters; but as what occur'd at that Time, under the Notion of an Effectual Test for the Exclusion of Papists: Not as (what the Dean alledges) the most probable Evidence that the Man was fincerely well-affected to the Establish'd Church, or to our whole Ecclesiastical Constitution; but as a Proof that the Man was Not a Papist, because such a Liberty was never known to be indulg'd to Them, as this of communicating with Us, whom their Head, and their Leaders, declare not to be a Christian Church. Never known, I mean, fince the Beginning of the Reformation: For then, several of the Papists communicated with the Protestant Church of England, till the Bad Consequences of it to their own Cause, and not to that of our Church, made it to be absolutely forbidden by their Conductors; tho' without the Imagination that once coming to our Communion was the least Evidence of their Approbation of our Whole Ecclefiastical Constitution. And this furnishes us with another Evidence that the Dean has greatly mistaken this Point; the Papists communicating in one Act of Worship with our Church, being then known and found to be confistent not only with No Affection to it, but even with an Outrageous Zeal and Fury against it. 6. It is so far from being true, as the Dean is pleas'd to lay it down, that 'The only Thing that remained, in order to keep Places of Power and Trust in the Hands of ' fuch

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ir n's such only as were well-affected to the Ecclesiastical Constitution, was to enact the Sacramental Test; that I have shewn, both from
Reason and Experience, that this never had in
it self, nor ever was supposed either by Conformists or Nonconformists to have, any manner
of Relation to a Man's inward Affection to
our Ecclesiastical Constitution; and therefore,
could not be appointed for that End.

SECT. III.

A farther Demonstration of the Dean's Mistake in this Passage.

I Shall now go on to observe that This Sacramental Test was so far from being the only Thing remaining, that Two other Methods naturally and immediately offer themselves, supposing the End of these Asts to be That which the Dean lays down. For,

even so much as a Constant Uninterrupted Conformity, as the Sole Condition of enjoying an Office; nothing could have been easier than to have expressly and effectually confin'd all Offices to this Condition. There was no Need of defining how often going to Church, made a Churchman; or of any Thing, but a short and plain Law, that once going to any separate Congregation should imply in it an Incapacity, or a Forseiture. But even This would not have amounted to what, He would have us believe, was the Intention of the Legislature. For even

the most Constant Uninterrupted Conformity to our Worship does not, by any reasonable Consequence, imply in it an Approbation of our whole Ecclesiastical Constitution. And as for Experience; I dare say, the Dean himself feels within his own Breast, that This proves

no fuch Thing.

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2. Supposing the Legislature to have intended to have excluded from Offices All but fuch as were WELL-AFFECTED to our Ecclefiaftical Constitution; Nothing could have been more natural, or more obvious, than to have required a folemn Oath from All who should be appointed to any Office, in which They should protest, in the Presence of God, that They did heartily approve, and were fincerely wellaffected to, the Ecclesiastical Constitution of this Realm; and as heartily resolve to preserve every Branch of it, in its present Condition, against All Amendments, or Alterations whatso-This, or something like it, joyn'd with the Former, would plainly and effectually have answered the Dean's supposed End. And if that had been their Real End, it is next to imposfible that They should have avoided These, or the like, Tests. But,

3. As the Case stands, I cannot but argue That, since the Legislature avoided doing what naturally offer'd it self, and what would effectually have excluded Nanconformists of ALL Sorts; and since They not only avoided this, but chose a Test, which would indeed effectually exclude Papists, but which, it was pubally exclude Papists, but which, it was pubally exclude Papists,

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lickly known, would not exclude Nonconformists of All forts: Since, I say, These Two Points are evident to a Demonstration; I therefore, argue that it was not the Intent of the Legislature to exclude Nonconformists of All Sorts; as the Dean has labour'd to prove. And this, I hope, I do, with much more Honour to our Legislators, than it can be to Them, to suppose that They intended an End; and then, avoiding the only effectual Method for the compassing it, chose a Method, which Themselves could not but know must be Inessectual to that End.

SECT. IV.

The Dean's Observations, drawn from his foregoing State of the Case, examin'd.

Having thus remark'd the Many Mistakes, upon which the Dean has laid his Foundation; I shall now endeavour to discover what Strength there is in his Observations which follow, p. 8, 9, &c.

I. He imputes to Me that I 'suppose that BARELY Receiving the Sacrament, (as He 'expresses himself) is the Test required by the 'A&.' Now,

1. As I may presume that even He cannot think Me so ignorant of what I have had often a Concern in, my self, and what is notorious to the whole World; viz. that the Ast requires the receiving the Sacrament according to the Usage of the Church of England:

fo, I know, and He knows, that He cannot produce one single Word of mine to justify this Needless Missepresentation; either to show that I have once spoken of BARELY receiving the Sacrament; or once supposed the whole Test required by this Act, to be any thing which does not imply in it the receiving the Sacrament according to the Usage of our Church. Upon

which Occasion,

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2. I must observe to Him that the Test may be consider'd as having Two Parts: because the Law which requires receiving the Sacrament according to any particular Usage, requires receiving the Sacrament; and that these Two Points, may be confider'd distinctly. And it may be affirm'd that the Test required is Receiving the Sacrament, without implying or imagining that it is Barely receiving the Sacrament, (as the Dean's Phrase is,) or receiving it where and how any one pleases. He might therefore, have spared his judicious Remark, that the Test lies chiefly upon these Words, according to the Usage and Rites of the Church of England: And it would have been fomething the better even for his own Observation, if he had. For, as One Thing unfortunately and often thews it felf, even when We are defigning quite another: so here, the Dean's Natural Good Sense threw in the Word Chiefly, to spoil his Observation, before it was quite ended. For, if the Test lies only Chiefly upon these Words; then it may lie in part upon Recetving the Sacrament: and this may be call'd

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the Test, without implying that it is not to be received in one particular Manner.

The Dean has strengthen duhis Observation with Two Suppositions, which He here makes for our Legislatori as indeed his whole Argument is founded upon Multitudes of Supposals, in a Case of Law, in which only plain Words and plain Expressions ought to be regarded. The first is, that every Christian is supposed to receive the Sacrament somewhere: Whereas it is manifest to the Eyes of the World, that Multitudes of profess'd Christians and profess'd Churchmen. too, never have thought of doing it, but upon Occasion of Offices; and that therefore, it is not fit to make the Legislature to Suppose Things absolutely and notoriously false. Besides, Granting that the Legislature did suppose it; this would not at all hinder the Truth of the Observation, that when They require, for every new Office, that a Man shall receive the Sacrament, let it be in what manner it will, the receiving the Sacrament is the Test, as well as the manner of doing it.

The other Point, which He puts upon the Legislature, is, That 'it was supposed that no Man would in such manner receive it, but a Member of the Church of England: Whereas, This could not be supposed; because the contrary was known, as a Thing open and notorious, that many Men would in such Manner receive it, who were not Members of the Church of England. Excellent Suppositions, to build important Facts upon! and Excellent Representations

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on St presentations of the Wisdom and Sagacity of our Legislators! And thus have we, first, Facts, so stated, as to stand in need of Invented Suppositions! and then, Suppositions invented, for the Support of Facts which cannot stand without them.

2. Another Observation the Dean makes, p. 9. viz. That receiving the Sacrament, according to the Usage of the Church of England, is not the Qualification for an Office, within the Intent of the Act; but only the Proof of such Qualification: Which Qualification He affirms to be this, That the Person— be well-affected to the Ecclesiastical State and Constitution of these Realms: I suppose He means, The Realm, (as it was once,) of England only. Now,

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1. I have already shewn that this was not fo, in Fact; and that Receiving the Communion according to the Usage of the Church of England, can have no Relation to our Esteem, or Disesteem, of our Whole Ecclesiastical Constitution; and indeed can be Proof of nothing, even in an Honest Man, but that He holds it lawful to receive it in this manner. 2. It may, I think, be call'd an Undeniable Proposition, that the Real Inward Disposition cannot possibly, by any Humane Law, be made a Qualification for any Office: and consequently, that it is absurd to talk of making an Affection for the Ecclesiastical Constitution, to be the Qualification; it being impossible to judge of that Inward Affection. 3. It is as evident, that this Inward Affe-Stion is not the Qualification required by the Att:

Act: because a Person receiving the Communion according to the Usage of the Church of England, performing only the outward Act just as others perform it, is qualify'd unexceptionably according to Law; and equally, whether He be a Friend, or a Profess d Enemy, to our Ecclesiastical Constitution; nay, whether He be a Profess'd Atheist, or Deist, or a sincere Christian. 4. But if the Dean only means that the Legislature chose this Outward Action, as a probable Mark of fuch Affection; I have before confider'd this. And I now only add that, even upon this Supposition, it is the outward Mark which is the Qualification, in the Intent of the Law: I fay, that it was the Intention of the Legislature, that every one materially performing this outward Action, should be capable of Offices; and that therefore, This Outward Performance is the Qualification for the Office; it being That, without any other Addition, which is declar'd in the Law to make any Person capable of the Office. Nay, the He should profess himself openly, at the same Time, an Enemy to the Ecclesiastical Constitution; this would not alter the Case in the least: He would be equally qualify'd according to the Intent of the Law, with the most zealous Advocate for the Ecclesiastical Constitution. The Intent of Legislators is not to be taken from what, we may imagine, a Majority of them might, or ought to have intended in their own Breaits; but from their own plain and express Words. And therefore, the Intent here was,

that All who should perform the outward Act of communicating in one particular manner, should be legally qualify'd, by that outward Act,

for Offices.

The Dean endeavours to shew that his Account of this Matter is very clear, p. 9. from hence, 'that a Man may receive the Saccament, so as to give Proof of the Qualification made necessary by the Corporation Act, without suspecting that He was then giving

'a Test required by Law, &c. But,

I. How this in the least proves his Assertian, I confess my self at a Loss to see. His Affertion is, that the Qualification required, or intended, is an Inward Affection to the Ecclesiastical Constitution. We will therefore, suppose that an Occasional Conformist had, many Months before his Election into an Office, receiv'd the Sacrament, according to the Usage of the Church of England. This Act of Receiving is his Qualification, according to the Corporation Act. Bur this All of receiving is not at all a Sign of his Affection to our Ecclestastical Constitution. Therefore, this Instance proves nothing, but the contrary to what the Dean collects from it: viz. that the outward Act of receiving, let the inward Affection to our Ecclesiastical Constitution be what it will, is the Qualification for an Office, even by the Legal Intent of the Corporation Act it felf.

2. Supposing it were otherwise in the Corporation Act; this would not affect the Fest Act, in which this Debate is most concern'd. Nay,

if the Argument depends upon this, that the Man qualifies himself without knowing it; it must conclude quite the contrary in the Case of the Test Act; according to which, the Man cannot qualify himself for an Office, by receiving the Communion, without knowing that He

does fo. But,

3. The Dean's Argument relies upon this, that No Perfon can voluntarily, and without a worldly Occasion, receive the Communion in the Church, without having an Inward Affection for our Ecclesiastical Constitution. I have shewn, that in reason this implies no such thing. And I have here given an Instance which proves it not to be fo, in Fact, of an Occasional Conformist receiving the Communion in the Church, without any regard to an Office: which is indeed a Demonstration against what the Dean here lays great Stress upon.

He goes on, (in his own Phrase) * To put a Matter of such Consequence in the present Debate out of doubt, by referring the Reader to Two Ads in the Time of K. James I. In the first of these, according to his own Representation, the Receiving the Communion in our Churches once a Year, was enacted for the better Discovery of Persons Popishly affect

ed, who sometimes repair'd to our Churches, to cover their mischievous Designs, &c. The Dean here fays, that this was required only as a Test of Conformity. But what He ought to have provid is, That a Popish Recusant, receiving the Communion once a Year in our Churches, performing only that outward Act, was not safe by this Law, whatever his Inward Affection

was. This He does not attempt.

And therefore, it remains, 1. That the outward Act of thus receiving the Communion, was alone the Thing required. 2. That this was not required as a Proof of a Total Conformit); because it could be none: or of a sincere Inward Affection to our Ecclesiastical Constitution; because, even before the Papists were commanded by their Directors not to communicate with Us, for fear of injuring their own Cause, Those who did so, were not immediately supposed from thence to be sincerely Well-affectioned to the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Realm; but indeed were known to be the contrary. 3. That it was required, as a Practice; an outward Practice which the Popish Recusants did not, and were not allow'd to perform, and upon that account only was very proper in this respect, that it would effectually discover who were, and who were not, truly the Persons against whom this Act was design'd to guard.

The other Act the Dean mentions, is about Naturalizing Strangers, who were required to receive the Communion, in order to prove their being of the Establish'd Religion: Now, I. The receiving the Communion in any Protestant Church is an Evidence that a Man is

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not a Papist; and will be so, till Papists are allow'd to do it by their Guides. 2. If therefore, by the Establish'd Religion be here meant the Protestant Religion; This is an Outward 3. It can be Profession of being a Protestant. be no certain Evidence of an Inward Affection, or Disposition: which may be always hid from mortal Eyes, 4. Nor can it be any Evidence of any thing, even in an honest Christian, but of his being so far of the Established Religion, as to think it lawful to receive the Communion in the manner prescribed. 5. This therefore, amounts to no Proof that the Qualification, or that which was made necessary to Naturalization, was an Inward Affection to our Ecclefiastical Constitution. On the contrary, 6. Whoever did outwardly perform this Act of Receiving, was, without any regard to his Inward Dispofition, qualified, according to the Legal Intent of this Act, for Naturalization. Nor can I conceive indeed, how it should be expected of Strangers, or so much as thought of in their Case, That They should have a great and sudden Affection for our Ecclefiastical Constitution. Thus we fee that the Dean still alledges nothing but what makes against Himself, and destroys his own Design. Nor, supposing that these Acts were to be interpreted, as He wishes, could He possibly make out the Consequence of this Argument, 'In an A& made in the Reign of King James the First, it was thus intend-' ed: Therefore, in the Test-Act, made many ' Years afterwards, by other Persons, there was the same Intention.

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SECT. V.

The Dean's Charge against what I have formerly imputed to the Test Act, consider d.

A Frer the Dean has thus flated the Case, agreeably to his own Wifhes and Defign; and made fuch Observations, as such a State of the Case naturally led Him to; He turns the Eyes of his Reader upon Me. The first thing He charges Me with, is, that I 'speak, * as if I thought that the Celebration of the Sacrament, ordained and confined, by our Lord, to the serious Remembrance of his Death, was ordaind to Something Else by the above-mention'd Laws'. And I am call'd upon 'to shew that Any of the Acts mention'd FORBID it to be receiv'd in Remembrance of Christ's Death; or require it to be receiv'd with any other Purpose of Heart whatever.' + In what I have to fay in the Sequel of this Debate, (and particularly in Answer to this,) I shall most commonly confine My self to the Test Act; in order to be more Clear and Determinate.

1. I must take the liberty to say that, according to this way of representing an Adversary, Replies and Triumphs may be multiplied without End. My Words, all which He would not lay before his Reader, tho' He began to

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^{*} Answ. to Comm. P. 185.

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quote some of them, are such, as would have spoil'd the Beauty of his Defiance, if they had been produced. My Charge is, that 'To make the Celebration of this Institution, or-' dained and confined, by Our Lord himfelf, to the ferious Remembrance of his Death, to be the Instrument of some particular fort of Christians (as well as of Atheists and Infidels) getting into Civil Offices; and to be the Bar against Other fort of Christians is debasing the most sacred Thing in the World into a Political Tool, and an Engine of State. This Proposition confists of many Parts! and I am glad the Dean gives me this Opportunity of examining it, and clearing it once more. I shall first fet down the several Points contain'd in it! and then thew how unkindly He has represented it.

ordain'd and confined by our Lord to the seri-

ous Remembrance of his Death.

of possessing Civil Offices. This is evident. For that, without which a Civil Office cannot be possessed, is made the Instrument of such Possession. But the Receiving of the Communion is That, without which a Civil Office cannot be possessed. Therefore, It is truly and justly said to be made the Instrument of such Possession of Civil Offices.

3. It is, by this Act, made the Instrument of Possession of Civil Offices to some particular Christians, (as well as Atheists and Insidels,) and

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and of Exclusion to others. An Atheist, or an Infidel, who performs the Outward Acts, which other Communicants perform, is equally with Them qualified for a Civil Office. A Person of fuch Dispositions possesses a Civil Office, by the Instrumentality of a particular Institution of our Bleffed Lord's. And this Atheist or Infidel, who would never think of mixing himself in the Celebration of what He believes nothing naturally approaches the Communion of Christians, because He cannot possess a Civil Office without it. I am not here arguing that Such Open and Profess'd Atheists as can be convicted by Legal Evidence, may thus come and receive the Communion: against whom alone the Clergy can have any Remedy, even supposing what the Dean afterwards acquaints Us with to be true. But I am speaking of Secret and Unknown Infidels; and also of such as are very well known to be fo, and yet cannot be legally proved to be fo. Of These I fay, that this Law alone leads them into a Necessity either of coming to this sacred Institution; or of forfeiting all Right to the Offices of this World, which They, esteem their All; and that This Law obliges the Clergy to admit them, by laying them open to an Action, if They refuse it. And if the Dean thinks it nothing, that this Institution of our Bleffed Lord's is thus made a necessary Instrument of an Unbeliever's rifing in this World; I am forry for it. This I am fure of, that I do the Att no Injury, when I say that it is so, in Fact. For

For the other part of this Affertion; viz. that the receiving the Holy Communion is, by this Act, made the Instrument of Excluding some Christians from Civil Offices; this is no Injury to it, in the Dean's Opinion, who defends it under this View.

4. I fay, That thus to make a facred Institution, appointed folely for the Remembrance of Christ's Death in the Assemblies of Christians, the Instrument of possessing Civil Offices, for Atheists and Insidels, as well as one particular fort of Christians, to the Exclusion of Others; that This, I say, is debasing a facred Institution into a Political Tool, and an Engine of State. For certainly, whatfoever is made an Instrument, without which there shall be No Possession of Civil Offices, and of the Posts of This World, is a Political Tool, and an Engine This is what I have affirm'd of this Att; and what I am still ready to make out: even whilft I am treated with Indignity and Reproach by Christians themselves, for pleading for a greater and more facred Regard to the Institutions of our common Master, than what is confiftent with thus debaling them into the Scaffoldings and Props of Worldly Defigns and Politics. To come now to what the Dean lays upon Me;

r. I own, that 'I speak as if the partaking of the Holy Sacrament, ordain'd and con-

fin'd by Our Lord to the Serious Remem-

brance of his Death, was ordain'd to SOME-THING ELSE by this ACL. And I now

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fpeak again, in the same manner: thinking That it wants nothing but Eye-fight to see that an Action ordain'd as an Instrument, without which no Person shall command a Regiment, is ordaind by this Att to SOMETHING ELSE, besides the Remembrance of Christ's Death; and that He who, being nam'd to the Command of a Regiment, immediately partakes of the Holy Communion, not only remembers the Death of Christ, but qualifies himself for his Post; not only, at the very time of Celebration, remembers that Death, (supposing Him serious,) but remembers also, (and cannot help remembring) SOMETHING ELSE, viz. that He is nam'd to an Office, and that He is now qualifying himself for it. And the Remembrance of this, upon this Occasion, is, I fear, much more unavoidable, than the Remembrance of what alone ought to be then remember d.

2. The Dean adds — 'Whereas they (these 'Alls) suppose it to be received with such 'Devotion, and to Such Purposes on Ly as 'Christ ordain'd'. What the Test All supposes I cannot test: not being acquainted with Legal Suppositions; and well knowing that an All of Parliament cannot reach to the Inward Disposition; as well as that He, who receives without Devotion, is as duly qualified, by this All, for a Troop of Guards, as the Greatest Saint upon Earth. But this I know, That to say, 'the 'All supposes on Ly as Christ ordain'd,' is

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to contradict, in a manner too visible to pass upon the commonest Reader, both the Express Design of the Att it self, and (what is of more Importance to the Dean) his whole Argument in this Treatise. Christ ordain'd it to be received ONLY in remembrance of Himself. The Ad ordains it (or it ordains nothing) to be received not only for this purpose; but for another purpose, that is, as something without which no Person shall enjoy a Civil Office. This is a Purpose superadded to the Purpose of Christ. Therefore, the Act is to far from supposing it to be received for the Purpose of Christ ONLY, that it commands it to be receiv'd for ANOTHER purpose besides that. And farther, What has the Dean been hitherto designing to prove? Is it not the very Principle upon which his Future Argument is to be built, that the Receiving the Communion, as ordain'd by this Act, is ordain'd for the PURPOSE of testifying our Inward Affection to the Ecclefiastical Constitution of this Realm? And has He not laid it upon Me, (tho' by his own Mistake only,) that I thought the Test required by this Act, is Barely receiving the Communion? Whereas He has instructed Me, It is not so; but that it is required by the At, in order to be a Test of a Man's Affection to the Ecclefiastical Constitution of this Kingdom. This therefore was, according to Him, in p. 8. &c. the Purpose of the Act. But now, in p. 12, the Act ' suppo-' ses it to be received to such Purposes on-LY

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Ly as Christ ordain'd Now, therefore, Either our Lord appointed the Sacrament to be received as a Test of a Man's Astection to the Ecolehastical Constitution of England; or, it cannot be true that the Att supposes it to be received to fuch Purposes ON LY as Christ ordain'd. Bur Christ never, as far as appears, spake of our Ecclefiastical Constitution, in ordaining this Sacrament Therefore, it cannot be true that the Act supposes it to be received to fuch Purposes ONDY as He ordain'd. Or again, If the Att supposes the Sacrament to be received to fuch Purposes ONLY, as Christ ordain'd; then, the Ad does not lo much as luppose it to be received as a Token or Test of Inward Affection to our Ecclefiastical Constitution: because this was not One of the Purpofes ordain'd by Christ. But the Act supposes, (as the Dean affures us, in p. 12.) the Sacrament to be received to fuch Purposes only as Christ ordain'd. Therefore, the Act is fo far from requiring the receiving the Sacrament, in order to the Temporal Security of any Ecclesiastical Constitution; or to the testifying any Inward Affection to it; that it does not for much as suppose it. Consequently, All that the Dean has been labouring, in the foregoing Pages, about the Design of the Act, falls by his own Hand, according to never-failing Custom. One or Other must be given up. No Ingenious Turn of Thought can prevent it. If Christ ordain'd the Communion, as a Test of a Man's Affection to the Ecclesiastical Constituordains the receiving it, to such Purposes and ordains the receiving it, to such Purposes on Ly, as Christ ordain'd. But if Christ ordain'd it not for any such Purpose; then, the Ast not only supposes, but ordains it, to be receiv'd for other Purposes than His; and therefore, not for His on Ly. If I may use his own, or the like words, Something, I am sure, He must part with: and I heartily wish Him the more Christian Choice.

3. The Dean, goes on to defire Me 'to hew that Any of the Acts mention'd FORBID the Sacrament to be received in Remembrance of Christ's Death; or require it to be received with any contrary Purpose of Heart whatsoever.' This, I confess, is the Right Way of turning the Reader from the very Sight of the

Question. For,

I. Did I ever once say, or hint, that the Ast Forbids the Sacrament to be received im Remembrance of Christ's Death? The Dean knows in his Conscience that I never did: and therefore, cannot justify the leading his Reader to think I have done so, by calling upon Me for the Proof of what not only I never affirm'd, or thought; but no Man living ever supposed.

2. The receiving the Sacrament may be ordain'd by the Ast to Something Else besides the Purposes appointed by Christ; without supposing it to Forbid It to be received for his Purposes. The former the Dean himself has endeavour'd already to prove, as I

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have done. And therefore, He should not in the same Breath have chang'd the *Phrase* into another, with a meaning never before thought of; unless He will make Himself, equally with Me, responsible for charging this *latter* upon the AA, because He has charg'd the former upon it.

3. If by the words, With any Contrary Purpose of Heart, (which the Dean has now put instead of, To any Purposes,) He means any Purpose in the Communicant himself, which abfolutely hinders Him from remembring the Death of Christ at all: This, He knows, was never laid upon it by any one. But if He means to affirm that the Act does not require it to be receiv'd to a Purpose contrary, in its Nature and Tendency, to the Purpose for which ONLY Christ ordain'd it; He contradicts the Sole Design of the Att it self. The Att concerns not it self with either the Faith, or Difposition, of Communicants. What it enacts is, that the same Outward Action, which Christ has ordain'd Solely for the Remembrance of Him, and of his Love to Mankind, shall be perform'd as a Qualification for all Civil and Military Offices. The one is a Purpose of Religion: the other is a Purpose of this World. Concerns of this World and of True Religion, have been generally esteem'd and treated, by Christian Divines, as contrary to one another; as truly so, as Heaven is to Earth. Therefore, the Act, tho it does not FORBID the Communion to be received in Remembrance of Christs

Christ's Death; tho' it does not require it to be receiv'd to any Purpose so absolutely contradictory to, or so Inconsistent with, That, as to make it impossible for the Receiver to remember Christ's Death: Yet, it requires it to be received to the Purpose of Possessing a Civil Office; to the Purpose of distinguishing some Christians from Others; or of excluding some from Civil Trusts, and Political Posts, and confining them to Others; that is, to a Purpose of this World, contrary in its Nature, and contrary in its Tendency, to the Sole Purpose, to which Christ ordain'd it. And I will here add, that I might challenge the Dean himself to receive the Communion in Obedience to this Act, were He capable of any Promotion, Civil or Military, which could require it; and in order to that, to procure Witnesses for testifying fuch his receiving it; supposing Him, as a Christian, seriously to remember the Death of Christ; (of which I make no doubt, how unkind soever He has been in his Censures upon Me:) I may challenge Him, I fay, to do this, without receiving it with another Purpose of Heart also, viz. the Purpose of qualifying himfelf for an Office; the Purpose of making it subservient to that End; the Purpose of going to a Temporal Court with his Witnesses; the Purpose of distinguishing Himself from Other And if these Purposes are not Con-Christians. trary to the Purpose for which ONLY Christ ordain'd it; then, the Purposes of Heart which regard This World only, are not Contrary, in

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their Nature and Tendency, to the Purpose of Heart which regards the Concerns of Another Life only; and the Remembrance only of Him, who brought Life and Immortality to Light. In fine, The Test Act requires it to be received for a Qualification, without which Worldly Posts amongst Us shall not be possessed. Therefore, No one can receive it, in obedience to this Act, without remembring this Civil Purpose; without designing to receive it to this Purpose; and without knowing and feeling that He does so: Or without thinking of it as a Civil Badge of Distinction between Himself and Some of his Fellow Christians.

What I have now faid will fully explain My Charge against this Act, in these Words, which the Dean cites * but in part; and which I shall here fer down at large, from p. 190. of My Answer. 'But the Celebration of the Lord's Supper was instituted and ordain'd for the " more effectual Memory of Him, who brought Life and Immortality to Light; who by his Death overcame Death, and purchas'd the Happiness of Another Life for all his True Disciples. ' And consequently, To take This, and to ' turn it aside to any Purposes of This Life; is ' to Turn it from its original and natural De-' fign, to a Purpose AGAINST ITS OWN 'NATURE, and CONTRARY to the END proposed by the Ordainer himself.' I have

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^{*} P. 19.

put the same Words in remarkable Characters, which the Dean has, that I may not hide any Thing that He imagines may appear Frightful to a Christian. I am not follicitous, to what Acts of Parliament, or what Laws of Men, This may be unfavourable. I hope, I shall always have the true Prudence, and True Courage, to defend a sacred Institution from what I esteem a Gross and Crying Abuse of it. And I can securely leave it in the Breast of every sincere Believer in Christ, to judge, Whether, supposing there were no fuch Act of Parliament, or Statute of the Realm, as the Test Act, this Sentence be worthy or unworthy of a Christian; agreeable, or disagreeable, to the Religion and Institution of our Common Master. If, upon this Supposition, No Christian would have once found fault with it; as I truly believe; I will prefume to fay, that no one now ought to do it, till it can be demonstrated that Acts of Parliament, and Constitutions of a Realm, alter the Nature of Things; and make that intolerable in a Christian, or a Clergyman, which, without them, would have been commendable and praise-worthy.

SECT. VI.

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The Continuation of the Dean's Charge against Me, upon this Head, consider'd.

THE Dean acknowledges 'He has heard 'much and just Complaint of the Iniquity of Men, who have come to the Sacra-ment

ment without Devotion, nay, sometimes with open Contempt of it, merely to fatisfy the Letter of these Laws: But, He adds, ' never till now, was the Legislature so openly arraigned, and charg'd with establishing Guilt and Hypocrify by a Law' *. I confess, I have not heard fo much, as the Dean here lays before the World. And I think, He has furnish'd the Legislature with a truly Christian and Unanswerable Argument, for putting an effectual stop to such Wickedness. He declares that the Iniquity of Men is such, that They come to the Holy Sacrament, without Devo-' tion, nay, sometimes with Open Contempt of ' it, merely to fatisfy the Letter of these Laws.' [The Test Act, particularly.] And is it so, in-We may depend upon it. For Truth has extorted it from Him, that this is a Just Complaint: Nor would He have faid it, against the Interest of his own Argument, if He had not known it to be True: tho', I must profess, I never met with any thing like it, in my own Experience. The next Question therefore is. From whence does this proceed? What is the Occasion of it? He himself answers in these words, - Merely to Satisfy the Letter of these The Test Att, I say, the Test Att therefore, is the Natural Evident Occasion of this: and must be charg'd with it, whilst it is known that there are Atheists, Insidels, and Debauchees in

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the World. For the Offices of this World are their ALL. The Test Act declares them Uncapable of these Offices, without receiving the Communion. What remains therefore, but that They come, and receive the Bread and Wine, in Manner and Form appointed. The Action is as indifferent to them, as any other Action. They have no Scruples of Conscience about it. They can't have a Post without it: And therefore, it is to Them an easy and natural Resolution, to have One with it. The Cause is the Test Act. In obedience to That only They Take away That: and They would come. never think of coming at all. The Letter of the Law is the Law: and They who perform all that the Law of Men requires, obey the Law of Men; who cannot make Laws about Inward Affections and Dispositions, but about Outward Actions only. And, supposing them to have pitch'd upon this particular Outward Action, to exclude some Honest Christians, who were supposed to have Real Scruples against it; yet This is nothing at all to the Cafe now before Us. For the Legislature could not so much as suppose, that the Ordaining, as a Qualification, the External Act of Communicating in Our Churches, could exclude any Man who was inwardly an Atheist, or Unbeliever: because fuch a Person could not be supposed to have any Principles to hinder Him from taking the Benefit of a Law, which made his Worldly Interest depend upon an Action, against which He could have No Scruples; and which was as Indifferent

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different to Him, as any Other Action of Life they could have pitch'd upon. Nay, This was fo evident at the Time of making this Act; (when Multitudes of the most zealous for our Ecclesiastical Constitution were well known not to be overburthen'd with Religion; and when Others of the Greatest Promoters of the AA, were known to mean nothing of Religion in it, but to keep out Papists: This was so evident then, I say,) that one may affirm, there was no fuch thing in the Eye of the Legislature, as excluding such Persons as we have been speaking of. If it had been their Intent; the Means would have been better proportion'd to the End. This therefore, is plain, that this Great Fvil is occasion'd, and indeed caus'd, by the Test Act. I say, Caus'd: because This cannot be call'd an Accidental Unforeseen Consequence; but is in truth the Natural, and, morally speaking, Unavoidable Consequence of it.

The next Point therefore is, What Reason or Apology for this? For, as the Dean himfelf is pleas'd to allow that 'We ought not' to lay Stumbling-Blocks in the Way of our Brethren,' * [of which I shall make farther Use by and by;] so, I dare say, He will equally allow, that it is highly Unbecoming to lay a Necessity upon Atheists and Debauchees, either to come to the Most solemn Institution of

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Christian Worship, against which They can have no Scruples of Conscience; or to renounce all Hopes, and all Thoughts, of worldly Promotion: which latter is to Them a Moral Imposibility. It will be proper therefore to ask, Did the Nature of this Holy Institution lead our Law Makers to deal thus with it? Is it, in its original Design, a proper Snare and Inlet for All that will have Preferment in England? Did the Holy Institutor of it, who knew all the Uses for which it was proper, and who was the only fit Person to regulate and confine the Purposes of his own Institution; did He, I say, appoint it for this End; or did He leave any Mark upon it, that might induce Others to appoint it to fuch Purposes? Or, Is there no other possible Instrument of conveying Civil Offices, but his Institution? No other Channels possible to be found out for the Political Favours of Temporal Princes, but That, which He has ordain'd folely for a folemn Part of the Religious Worship of His Fol-

Till these Questions are answer'd, to the Advantage of the Dean's Argument, with plain and evident Demonstration, I shall not forbear to charge such a Law, not with establishing Guilt and Hypocrify; (as He expresses it in his aggravating Language;) but with being the Unnecessary Occasion, and Natural Cause, of the Gross Abuses which He himself grievously complains of; and of turning That into a Tool of Civil Interest, which has nothing, in its Nature

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Nature or Institution, tending That way. Nor will it be any Advantage to the Dean, to observe that the Stress of the Test lies upon receiving the Sacrament, according to the Usage of the Church of England. For this cannot be done without celebrating an Institution of Our Blessed Lord's: the doing it according to the Usage of out Church, not at all altering its Nature, I hope; nor making it any Other, in its Essence, than an Institution of Christ Himself; nor consequently rendring it at all more proper, or more justifiable, to make it the Necessary Instrument of Promotion to Atheists, Insidels, and Debauchees.

SECT. VII.

An Answer to the Dean's Parallel, upon this Subject, relating to the Use of Oaths to Civil Purposes.

THE Questions I have just now ask'd will lead Us to a very proper Answer to the Dean's next Observation; * which is, that My 'Argument urged in this Case is just as strong against the Use of Oaths: which ought not, upon these Principles, says He, to be required as a Test of a Man's Veracity, because thereby They become an Instrument, by means of which some particular sort of Men, Atheists and Insidels, (for instance) get into

^{*} P. 14.

^{&#}x27;Estates,

Estates, the Titles to which are determind on Oath. And the Legislature may as justly be charg'd with all the Perjury of Corrupt Witnesses, as with the Hypocrify of Corrupt 'Communicants': He should have said, with the open Contempt of the Communion, of which he complains in the Page before. To which, being likely to have frequent Occasions of touching upon it again, I shall now only say That, by My Argument, the Laws would be indeed chargeable with all the Perjury of Corrupt Witnesses, upon the following Suppositions. 1. That an Oath were an Appointment of God, or of Christ, for the Purposes respecting Another World only. 2. That it were not Proper and Fitting, in its nature, for the Civil Purpofes of Civit Society; and fo allow'd by All Religions in the World, and by the Christian in particular. 3. That the Use of it for Civil Purposes were not adapted to its Nature and Defign; nor necessary in Humane Life. 4. That Any other more proper Instrument of Civil Rights, and Social Justice, could be found, 5. That any other more proper and, out. more effectual Test of a Man's Veracity could be fix'd. Or, 6. That there were No Relation betwixt the Testimony of Men in Causes Judicial and Civil, and the Rights and Security of Mankind in Humane Society. Let but these Suppositions be verified, and I must then fay the same of the requiring of Oaths, that I have faid of requiring the Receiving the Com-But in the mean while, till that is done,

done, I cannot be supposed to bear any Part in such an Argament as this, 'Humane Laws ought not to make an Institution of Christ, appointed folely for Spiritual Purposes, the Instrument of Worldly Promotions, fo as to ' lead Men, who have no part in it, either to ' abuse it, or to forseit their All in this World: Therefore, Humane Laws ought not to ordain the Use of Oaths, which are adapted and fram'd for Civil Affairs, and which are necessary and allowed for the Ends of This World, to the Purposes, for which They are ' in their nature appointed and fitted; nay, to the Uses of that Civil Life, and Those Civil Affairs, for which alone indeed They feem to have any Usefulness or Fitness. Or thus, 'Humane Laws are chargeable with the Abuses of a Holy Institution, which They appoint for Purposes, for which the Institutor ' never appointed it. Therefore, They are chargeable with the Abufes confequent upon their appointing That, which is the Proper and the Only Instrument for that End for which They appoint it.

SECT. VIII.

Some of the Dean's Repeated Observations, a-gain consider'd.

THE Dean comes now * to lay down the Two Questions, which naturally arise from the True State of the Case. What He calls the True

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^{*} P. 15.

State of the Case, I have examin'd, and found to be a Mistaken and Contradictory State of it, in all the few Steps He has already taken. But here, since the Dean, instead of going on upon these Two Main Questions, repeats several Points, and endeavours to place them in a better Light; I must follow, and repeat, or add, some Observations also.

1. As to my Mistake, here again mention d, that I imagine Receiving the Sacrament to be it self the Qualification for an Office; I confess, I am still so dull as to take That for the Legal Qualification for an Office, without which the Law declares all other Qualifications shall fignify nothing; and, by Virtue of which, Any Person, who externally fulfills this Law, shall certainly and legally possess his Post: tho' He has not any one of those Inward Qualifications, of which the Dean makes this only the Sign, or Mark. I deal not here in Imaginations of what is supposed in our Laws; which They lay it upon no Person to Judge of, or at all to concern himself with. And if this be a Mistake in Me, it is a Mistake common to All about Me; it having now obtain'd in the Current Language, amongst the Gentlemen of the Law, as well as Others: with whom a Person's Receiving the Sacrament, in Pursuance of this Act, and Qualifying himself for an Office, are so promiscuously us'd, that when the Question is ask'd, Whether any Person has qualify'd himself? Every Body understands it to be ask'd, Whether He has receiv'd the Sacrament? 2. The

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2. The Dean here resumes the Explication of what He thinks of great Importance to his part of the Question. Receiving the Sacrament, says He, according to the Usage of the Church of England, is not a Test of a Man's being a Willing Member of the Established 'Church, in Force or in Consequence of the Law; but in Force and in Consequence of that Sincerity, which ought always to attend it; and this Presumption, that He ' who receives in the Church, is of the Church, is the Ground and Foundation, and not the Effect, of the Law. And that I may hide nothing of the Force of his Argument from the Reader, in the next page, He fays, 'They (these Laws) leave the Sacrament to the Ufes for which it is ordain'd; and lay hold on the Act of Receiving, only as an Evidence of a Man's being in Communion of that 'Church in which He receives.' 1. One cannot but observe here how the Phrase is changed. What was just now no less than an Evidence required by the Test Act of an Inward Affection to the Ecclesiastical Constitution of this Realm, (of which Thousands of Communicants know not the hundredth Part,) is now an Evidence of being a Member of the Church of England: of which, I hope, Many an Honest Good Man may be a Member, without so much as having heard of Many of the Branches of our Ecclesiastical Constitution; and to which many an Excellent Clergyman has been a Glory, without the least Degree of Affection to, or Approbation probation of, Some Branches of our Ecclefiaftical Constitution. For certainly, a Man may be a Constant Member of this Church; and really prefer External Communion with it, in his Heart, before Communion with any other: and yet be far from thinking the Whole Ecclefiastical Constitution unexceptionable. The Dean therefore, has done but prudently to abate of his Legal Suppositions; and of his former Interpretation of this Part of our Law. But still, I see no Demonstration. For, 2. There could be no Presumption that He who receives in the Church, is a Member of the Church, lo as never to frequent any other but the Establish'd Worship, at a Time when it was notorious that Many of the Nonconformists, (even their Teachers who could not pollels any Civil Office,) receiv'd in the Church, without being of it, in this Sense; and openly avow'd the Principles of fuch Communion: Nay, when the Act of receiving necessarily implies nothing in it, even when perform'd by an Honest Chri-Stian, but that He is a Member of the Univer-Sal Church of Christ; and thinks it his Duty, or Lawful for Him, fometimes to communicate externally with This Part of it. Nor was it less known that Unbelievers must and would have Posts and Offices. And therefore, there could be no fuch Presumption, as is here spoken of, that These were really Members of any Christian Church; and consequently, No such Foundation of the Law as He here lays.

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3. It is so far from being true that the Test Act Leaves the Sacrament to the Uses for which

which it was ordain'd, that No Person, receiving it in Pursuance of the Test Act, can avoid feeling within himself that He does at that Time receive it for other Uses; certainly in order to possess a Civil Office; and, according to the Dean's own Explication of the Reason of requiring it, in order to testify his Affection to the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Reason.

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4. The Test All does not lay hold on the At of Receiving, as an Evidence of a Man's being in the Communion of the Church, in which He receives; but ordains the Act of receiving for a worldly Purpose, to ascertain to the Receiver the Possession of a Civil or Military Office; as a Qualification, without which He shall not possess it, nor be capable of it: and This fo strictly ordain'd at this particular Time, let the Man's present Disposition be what it will, that if He has received it a Thousand Times in the Church before this, and never any where elfe; and can prove it by a Thousand Eye-Witnesses; all would fignify nothing. The Test Act lays hold on no fuch voluntary Communions, as any Proof; nor accepts them as any: but absolutely commands and ordains one fingle Participation of the Sacrament, within fuch a determinate Time, for a Worldly Purpose. And tho' it does not FORBID a Christian to remember his Saviour; yet it requires the most serious Christian, in Effect, and by necessary Consequence, to remember Something else besides the Love of his Saviour; and SOME- THING as different from it, as the Favour of an Earthly Prince is, from the Favour of God. And as for Those who are not Christians in their Hearts; it Requires them either to come to this peculiar Institution of Christ himself, and to bear a Part in what is indeed the Particular Badge of the Christian Profession; or to forseit all their Best Höpes and Greatest Interests in this World. And that these Persons chuse the Former rather than the Latter, is not near so great a Wonder; as it is, that any Christians can defend and applaud an Ast, which lays this Necessity upon them. As to what the Dean here adds;

As He truly observes, is not a Test of a Man's being a Willing Member of the Establish'd Church, in Force or in Consequence of the Law.' How indeed any such Astion, performed in Force or Consequence of a Law requiring it, can be a Proof or a Test of a Man's being a Willing Member of the Church, I profess I cannot see. And therefore, according to my Judgment, He only here declares that a Thing is not, which cannot possibly be, nor was ever supposed to be.

2. The next Proposition is, That 'the Re'ceiving the Communion in the Church is a Test
'of a Man's being a Willing Member of this
'Church, in Force and in Consequence of
'that Sincerity, which ought always to at'tend it.' Now, 1. Receiving the Communion
at one particular Time, in Obedience to the

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Test Act, in order to the Possession of a Civil Office, cannot possibly be any Test of a Man's being a Willing Constant Member of that Church, in which He receives; even supposing it to be a Sign of his being a Member. It is rather a Sign of his being a Member, merely because such Acts make it his Interest to be one. 2. It cannot be a Test of this, in Consequence of the Sincerity which ought to accompany it: because that Sincerity was known, and is still known, to be perfectly confistent with coming sometimes only to the Communion, in the Establish'd Church. No one ever imagin'd, when Dr. Bates (for Instance) us'd to chuse to communicate with Dr. Beverege, either that He did it without Sincerity; or that such Communion was any Test of his being a Willing Member of the Establish'd Church. Nor did Dr. Beverege (who had as high a Notion of Church-Communion as Any of his Brethren,) ever doubt of his Sincerity; or imagine that fuch an Act of Communion implied in it, by Virtue of that Sincerity, a Total Constant Communion with the Church Establish d: For He knew the contrary Nay, 3. The Dean himself is so good as to contradict this, before He comes to the End of the Next Page. For there He tells Us that the Act against Occasional Conformity, (which was design'd to prevent the Abuse of the Test Att) does not forbid Occasional Conformity as fuch, but leaves all Men to the same Liberty they had before to communicate occasionally with the Church. The Act of an · Oc-E

Occasional Conformist in receiving the Sacra-

ment in the Church, came up to the Letter

of the Test Act, and yet was no Proof of

' what the Legislature [required.]

Here I must make a short Digression to observe that, in the Second Edition, Expected is in this Place put instead of Required; even tho' at the same Time, the Word Required is left in the Sentence before: which thews that the Dean was Conscious, Our Legislators had not required what He had laid upon them; and will lead Every one to observe that, if all be dwindled into the Expectation of the Legislature, the Dean's Account of the whole Matter, and his Arguments taken from the Abuse of the Test Att, must fall to the Ground. For, I presume, the Expectation of a Legislature is a Thing for much in the Clouds and in the Dark; so Secret a Part of fecret History, and of so little Concern to any Man to enquire after; that it would found very odly in any of Our Courts of Judicature, to hear an Advocate pleading, in any Cause, from the Expectation of the Legislature. He would, I suppose, quickly receive for an Answer, that the Expectation of the Legislature, is a Term unknown in our Law; and a Thing which makes no part of the Concern of Subjects, who cannot generally be supposed obliged to enquire after Grounds and Foundations of Laws; or any Thing, but what is expressly requir'd in them: that our Law expects nothing but what it requires; and requires nothing but what it expressly, and in distinct Words, requires. To return; The

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The Dean, I fay, here allows and contends that the Act of an Occasional Conformist, in receiving the Sacrament, in Obedience to the Test Act, was no Proof of his being a Member of the Establish'd Church. And therefore, Receiving the Communion in the Church, does not, in Confequence of that Sincerity which ought to accompany it, imply in it that the Receiver is a Member of the Church, in such Sense as is here contended for: because, according to the Dean himself, here is an Instance of a Person communicating sincerely, persorming this Action which He himself is entirely satisfy'd is Lawful; and yet it is here affirmed by Himself that no such Thing was imply'd in it, in Consequence of that Sincerity; but the contrary found to be confistent with that Sincerity.

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3. This Presumption (fays the Dean) that ' He who receives in the Church, is of the ' Church, is the Ground and Foundation, not ' the Effect, of the Law.' 1. As for the Effect; who ever faid that This could be the Effect of the Law? But it is no more the Foundation of it, than the Effect. For 2. A Matter of Fact notorious, and univerfally known to be False, cannot be the Foundation of a Law made by Them, who knew it to be fo. But this Matter of Fact, that All, who could fincerely receive the Communion in the Church, were of the Church, was at that Time known to be And therefore, could not be the Foundation of the Law. 3. This is not the Founda-E 2 tion

tion even of the Occasional Act it self, which, according to the Dean, was made as a Guard to the Test Act. For, in the very next page, He tells Us that the Occasional Act does not forbid Occasional Conformity, as fuch. An Honest Christian therefore, may still receive the Communion occasionally in the Church. And there is the more Reason to judge it to be sincere now, because He gains nothing of this World by it. But still, according to the Dean, this Act of receiving in the Church, is no Proof of his being of the Church. Therefore, such a Presumption, as is founded upon a Matter known and acknowledg'd to be False, could not be the The very contrary Foundation of the Law. Proposition was, indeed, One Ground and Foundation of the Occasional Bill: viz. that Receiving the Communion in the Church does not imply in it the being of the Church. 4. If the Dean will give me Leave, I will tell him Other Foundations of the Test Act and Occasional Act. The Foundation of the Former was known to be, ' The Exclusion of Papists from Places of Trust and Influence: for which End it was then thought proper by some Politicians to require this Action of receiving the Communion in the Church, which, it was well-known, They were not allowed to perform. And the Foundation of the Occasional Act is as evident; viz. 'The pleasing Presumption that All Pre-' ferments and Places of Trust and Influence ought to be engross'd by Those, who feel themselves to have Power enough to engross them.

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of this World out of the Question, and every thing that can have any Influence upon them; and I dare engage that the Participation of the Burthen of Offices would, in all Countries, be press'd and forc'd upon Those, who are now eve-

ry where almost excluded from them.

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What I have faid relating to the Papists will answer what follows, in the Dean's Argument, p. 16. where He does me the Honour to argue from what I have formerly urged concerning Mr. Pillonniere. 'Men are not (fays He) fupposed to be of One Church, and commu-inicate with Another.' We are still got no farther than Presumptions and Supposals. But still, the same great and palpable Mistake runs thro' his Supposals. It is true, that Men are not supposed to be of one Church, and to communicate only with Another. But it is so far from being true that Men are not supposed to be of one Church, and yet sometimes to communicate with Another; that They are known to be of one Church of Christians, and in their ordinary Course to join with it; and yet to communicate with Another. Every one knew it when the Test Act was made. And the Dean himself not only supposes it, but affirms it, in the very next page.

He is equally mistaken when He says that I made use of this very Argument when I concluded Mr. P. to be No Jesuit, from his having often received the Sacrament in the Church of England. For my Argument was not, He has

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receiv'd in the Church. Therefore, He is of the Church, and that constantly and uninterruptedly. But my Argument was, He has frequently received in the Church of England. Therefore, He is No Jesuit : having often done what No Papist is allow'd, by his own Religion, to do. My Argument did not rely upon this, that He who receives in the Church, is of the Church; but upon this, that He who receives in our Church, cannot be supposed to No Jesuit; and, A Member of the be a Papist. Church of England; are very different Predicates of the Conclusion of a Syllogism: and tho' I might have truly affirm'd both as Matters of Fact; yet I could not have infer'd both from those Premises only, which I laid down.

SECT. IX.

Observations relating to the Occasional Act, and to the Use the Dean makes of it, in his Argument.

WE now come * to the A& (as it is commonly call'd,) against Occasional Conformity. And here, the Dean begins with laying it down that 'When the Doctrine of Occasional Conformity for Places prevail'd, it broke in upon this Evidence, (that is the Evidence requir'd by the Test A&) JUST as the Doctrine of Equivocation and Mental Reservation

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broke in upon the Evidence of an Oath. As

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the Church was known, at the Time of making the Test Act, to be No Evidence of Constant Communion with it; and therefore, was not required as such an Evidence. I have shewn that the Evidence of a Man's being No Papist, was the Point aimed at in this Act. From whence it follows that the Act of receiving occasionally in our Church, gave the Evidence which this Act required.

2. The Act of a Constant Conformist, in receiving the Sacrament upon his being nominated to any Post, never was the Evidence of his Constant Public Communion only with the Church: which made it necessary now to add more Conditions, when it was resolv'd to confine All Offices to Such. Therefore, the Act of Others in receiving, broke in upon No Evidence, which ever could be supposed to be im-

plied in One Act of receiving.

3. The Dean knows very well that All Occasional Conformists profess'd and openly avow'd
the Lawfullness, and some the Duty, of sometimes communicating in Our Churches, before
the Test Ast was made: and that That Ast was
not, even in the Intention of the Legislature,
aim'd against Them. Now, I would beg to
know with what Justice (for certainly Justice
is due to Those who differ from Us) it can be
said, that 'The doing a Thing judg'd to be
lawful, and profess'd so to be judg'd by Those
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who do it, before it was made a Qualificati-

on for an Office, is a Breaking in upon an Act of Parliament, which made that Thing

necessary, even at a Time when this Princi-

ple and Practice were known, and when the Exclusion of such Persons was not the Mat-

ter aim'd at.' Nay,

4. With what Justice can it be said that the Doing a Thing, which I my felf am entirely satisfy'd is lawful, in order to fullfil a Law which expressly requires no more, has any thing Criminal in it? Supposing, even after the making the Test Act, which was known to be design'd for the Exclusion of Papists, that the Papists themselves could, according to the Principles of their own Religion, and with entire Satisfaction to their own Consciences, have fulfill'd the Express Words of the Att. would any one have blamed Them for doing what They thought lawful, to obtain the Privileges of the A&? No certainly. Other more Effectual Methods of Exclusion might afterwards be thought of, by the Legislature: But it could not be faid that They, who fulfil the Express Words of a Law, elude the Law, merely because the Law makers were mistaken in thinking that to be a Bar to them, which proved not to be fo.

5. The Doctrine of Occasional Conformity for Places therefore, broke in upon No Evidence required by the Test Act: and whatever Fault the Dean may find with it, on other accounts, deserves little to be compared to the Doctrine

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of Equivocation or Mental Reservation, with regard to Oaths. This is evident from what follows. In the one Case, First, there is nothing done but what the Person who does it accounts entirely lawful: Secondly, Nothing done but what the Makers of the Test All knew would be done: and, Thirdly, Every thing done which That Act requires, as fully and as completely, as it is done by any One who is in no Degree a Nonconformist; and whenever such an one communicates occasionally, in obedience to that Act, for the fake of an Office. But in the Other Case, The Doctrine of Equivocation and Mental Reservation makes the Use of an Oath infignificant to all the Purposes of Humane Society; to all the Purposes to which it is and must be always design'd: And therefore, does indeed manifestly break in upon All the Evidence which is, in the nature of the thing, implied and required from an Oath. The very contrary to this I have shewn in the other Cafe.

6. And it will appear more plainly from what I am now going to observe; viz. that even the Occasional Ast it self, which the Dean says was design'd to prevent the Abuse of the Test Ast, and to be a Guard to it; that, I say, even This Ast it self does not require what it requires, as an Evidence either of a Person's being of the Church of England, in such sense as not to approve better of Any other; or, in the Dean's Phrase, of a Person's being well-affected

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affected to the Eoclesiastical Constitution of the

For this Act it self only requires of Persons concern'd in it, that, during the Time of their Offices, They shall not be present at any Public Worship in which the Liturgy of the Church of England is not used; leaving them the liberty, in that very Time, of having such Worship, as They themselves like, in private, and allowing a Congregation of Nine above their own Family.

This, we see, is founded upon a Supposition that Many, whom the Legislature still was not resolved to exclude, would be such as preser'd another Form of Worship before the Established; and is accompanied with an express Allowance to them, to follow their own Inclinations, or Humours, in that matter.

In which I think Three things are con-

r. That a Person's receiving the Communion in the Establish'd Church, and going to No other Public Worship, but that of our Churches, during his Office, was not esteem'd by our Legislators, in this new Law, or required in it, as an Evidence of a Man's being a Persect Churchman.

2. That a full Compliance with this Act was judg'd by the Legislature to be perfectly Consistent with a Greater Inward Approbation of Another Church, or Manner of Worship, different from the Established.

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3. That a full Compliance with this Act was not judg'd, by the Legislature, to imply in it an Affection to the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Realm: which consists of a great Number of Branches besides the Established Li-

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To these Observations I may add, that the very contrary was not only tacitly supposed, as in the Test Act; but expresly provided for by an Allowance given to All to have the Benefit of this Act, who would be content, in a more private Congregation, to follow their own Judgment, as to the Manner and Form of worshipping God; and to join, as far as They could in private, with Them, the Constitution of whose Churches They were better affected to, than the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Realm. Here is therefore, an express Declaration, that the Dean's Senle put upon the Act of Receiving the Communion, is not the Sense of the Legislature. For if the Occasional Act was made as the Guard and Explainer of the Test Act; then it is certain that the Test Act required not an Affection to the Ecclefiastical Constitution of the Realm, as the Qualification of Men for Offices, because This Act, which was to explain it, does expresly provide for the retaining fuch in Offices as it supposes not to be so affected; and requires Nothing of them, but what is supposed to be consistent with their approving Another way of Worship above the Established. Every one is by it qualified for an Office, who likes the Church-Worship so far,

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far, as to communicate once in the Holy Sacrament, after the Established Form, and to go to no Public Separate Congregation, during his Office; and allowed by it fuch a Behaviour in private, as supposes Him not entirely satisfied with a Total Uninterrupted Conformity. fame may be said as to Those of the French Nation, who frequent those Churches in which the Liturgy of the Church of England is used in French; and in all other respects submit themselves to such Parts of their own Church-Government, or Discipline, as still remain a-This Act does not incapacitate mongst them. Nay, They may perform every fuch Persons. thing required of them in it, without so much as approving of Episcopacy; much more, without so much as knowing what our whole Ecclesiastical Constitution is.

This is fufficient to show how imperfect and hasty an Account the Dean has given Us, both of the Test Act, and the Occasional Act: and that this Latter, to which He flies for Refuge, is it felf a Demonstration that He has greatly mistaken the Sense and Design of the Former; and that He gives only Hard Words without due Cause, or good Reason, when He calls That Practice, which the Test Act never forbid, and which the Legislature in the Occasional Act did not guard against, an Open Affront to the

Law of the Country.

Nor is He more happy, when He adds that "They who plead for the Repeal of the Occasioall Bill only, do in effect defire that all Men may

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may be at liberty to give the Proof required by the Law, of their Adherence to the Established Church, and yet be at liberty not to adhere to it.' For all this relies upon his own Presumptions, and Suppositions, never proved, of things intended and defigned by the Test Act, which are not at all express'd in it; and which are not agreeable to what was known to be the End of it; and which I have prov'd are not, even in supposition, contain'd in it. Nay, as to Adhering or not Adhering to the Church Established, I have shewn that the Occafional Bill it self gives such an express Allowance to Persons in Offices, provided They do not appear in any Public Separate Congregation during their Office; fuch an Allowance, I fay, as is perfectly confistent with a Person's not adhering to the Church, in the Dean's Sense, constantly and affectionately; and therefore, is in effect a Declaration that it was not defign'd, even in this last A&, to make such Adherence, or such Affection, to the Church, a necessary Qualification for an Office, as the Dean all along supposes and presumes to be implied in what They require.

What follows here, about the Abuses of the Holy Sacrament, &c. I have already shewn not to be at all accounted for, by the Case of Oaths required in Civil Concerns. And therefore, I will now come to the main Cause: And once more, with all plainness, 'declare my' Sense in this matter, and the Reasons on which it is founded: hoping that it may be at least

' least as Inoffensive to Christians, for Me to endeavour to Guard a facred Institution of "Christ from being debased into a Tool of this World, as it is for Others to contend for fuch a Debasement. And should all I say prove to be vain words, and of none Effect; should 'I fee the Christian Church, in this Land, still treated only as a Political Constitution; should ' I see a Peculiar Law of Christ relating to ano-' ther World still continued as the Scaffold of 'Ambition in this World; and as the Necessa-'ry Instrument of the Promotion of Atheists and Infidels; should I still find Christians deaf ' to the Honour of their Great Master, and un-' allarmed at the Reproach of his Holy Name; ' and should I still see Christian Divines, the ' Preachers of the Christian Law, contending ' earnestly for an humane Law, which natural-'ly introduces what I cannot but esteem a ' Profanation of the Memorials of his Death: ' Yet my fruitless Pains shall yield Me this ' Satisfaction, that I laboured for the Honour of Our Common Master, and Common Profession. ' Nor shall any Man be able, (no not the Dean ' himself in this poor Infinuation) to suggest, (with any who know the nature of Public Af-' fairs) that I was bribed by the Prospects of ' Honours and Preferments.' He will pardon me for making use of his Words, * with some Alteration. What latent Satyr He intended in

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this Sting at last, He best knows. leave it to Himself, and his own Conscience. But this I verily believe, that He himself has the Pleasure and Comfort of being inwardly fatisfied that I shall too probably meet with a Disappointment, if I have been either so meanspirited, or so weak, as to chuse the one plain Method of constantly maintaining Those Principles which I have espoused, upon any such Views and Prospects, as He has, more than once, without the least Provocation from Me, or the least relation to his Cause, cruelly infinuated against Me: and this, whilst He must know how much Stronger an Argument might, from all Experience, be retorted upon Himfelf, on his fide of the Question, could I prevail upon my self to think Personal Rudeness to be Argument, or to return to Him the Usage I have received.

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CHAP. II.

In which the First of the Dean's Two Main Questions, is fully consider'd.

SECT. I.

The Two Main Questions, as stated by the Dean: with an Instance of his Self-Contradiction.



HE Dean states the Two Questions, upon which the Whole of this Cause depends, in the following manner.

I. The First is, 'Whether it be lawful to confine Offices of Power and Trust in the Go-

WELL-AFFECTED to the Ecclesiastical

State and Constitution of the Realm?

II. 'Supposing this to be lawful; Whether

' it be also lawful to require of any Man, who is willing to accept an Office Civil and Mili-

tary, that He should communicate with the

Established Church, and particularly, that He

's should receive the Sacrament, according to the Usage of it, in order to prove such his

'Obedience and good Affection to the Eccle-

' fiastical Constitution?'

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These are the Two Questions which, He says, drife from the True State of the Case, already laid down by Him. But I have already shewn that His State of the Case was so far from being true, that it was (I think I may say, in every Step of it,) False and Mistaken. I have shewn that even the Occasional Act it self supposes All that it requires, to be consistent with having Not so much inward Assection for the Established Church, as for some Other: That the receiving the Sacrament is no Proof, and in the Test Act was never design das Any Proof, of such Assection, or so much as of a Constant Conformity: and That it does not imply in it that a Man so much as knows what the Ecclesia-

Rical Constitution of the Realm is.

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I shall only here add, as I pass, that the Dean cannot avoid returning to Self-Contradiction in so short a State of the Case as He has made. For here, He states the Case, That a Person receiving the Sacrament, in compliance with the Test Act, receives it in order to prove his Obedience and Good Affection to the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Realm. But in 1. 17. and other places, where He would fain release the Att from any thing shocking to a Christian, He pronounces That the Act LEAVES the Sacrament to the Uses for which it was ordain'd: That is, To those Uses ONLY, according to the whole purport of his Argument, and his Expressions themselves, in other places; particularly, in page 12. Thus is the Act, in one Page, declared to leave the Sacrament ment to the Uses for which Christ appointed it; Which is plainly extorted by Truth, because the Dean is conscious, it Ought to do so: And in another, when He is drawing up the Question to be debated, the Ast is declared to ordain the receiving it, in order to prove an Obedience and Good Affection to an Ecclesia-stical Constitution of a Certain Realm of this World; which, I presume, is none of the Uses, for which it was ordain'd by Christ.

But however, since These Questions are what the Dean has undertaken to resolve and maintain in the Affirmative; and since indeed, They contain in them the Points aimed at by The Many who are zelous for such Qualifying and Excluding Laws: I will still follow where I am led; and think my self very happy, if I can add any Light to what is of so great Importance, both to the Spiritual and Temporal

Concerns of Christians.

SECT. II.

The Two Points, as stated by the Dean, upon which the First Question depends: with Remarks upon his laying down Principles, which either have No Relation to his Design, or are absolutely Inconsistent with it.

I Now return to the First of the Two Main Questions before recited: Which 'will be determined, (says the Dean) by the Resolution of Two Points.

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1. Whether it be lawful, in Any Case, to make Laws, by which some Persons shall be render'd incapable of Offices.

2. Whether it be reasonable in the Case

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About the first Question the Dean might well have spared all the Pains He has taken. He knows, and all who know Me know, that I not only allow, but have contended, that it is lawful, commendable, and necessary, in some Cafes, to make Laws, by which some Persons shall be render'd incapable of Offices. Notion is, that there are Principles, which when avowed and profess'd openly, and steadily, do effectually shew the Persons embracing them, to be in Themselves uncapable of Offices; and demonstrate that They have not a Capacity for Them, as much as Idiocy or Lunacy can do. And in all fuch Cases, the Legislature of a Kingdom has a Right, by their Laws, to declare such to be Uncapable, who are truly render'd uncapable before, by their Constant and Avowed Principles. This General Doctrine I am as ready to own in Theory, and to apply in Practice, as the Dean Himself is. Upon which account He might have spared a good deal of his Labour; and some of his Satyr. And I would now indeed pass it all over, as a Matter agreed between Us, were it not for the Unhappy, and perhaps Contradictory, Way, in which the Dean's Argument begins, with regard to the Defign and End of it.

1. He begins with talking of Incapacities which regard the State; the Commonwealth; the Civil Government; the want of the Love of one's Country; Disaffection to the Public; and the like: and from the Lawfulness of esteeming such Dispositions to be Incapacities, He leads the Reader to think that even a less degree of Affection to one particular Church, or Way of Religious Worship, is that Disaffection to the Public; that Want of Love to one's Country; which is justly argued from hence to be an Allowable and plain Incapacity. About the former of these, We are all agreed. But how will it at all follow that, because Those particular Persons, who are declared Ememies to the State, to the Civil State and Civil Government of a Nation, are Uncapable by this of holding Offices in it, and justly treated as such by their Governours; therefore, a Body of Men, perfectly well-affected to the Civil State, and zelous for a Civil Government, which has been fettled many Years, may as justly be excluded in the Gross, because They are not so well-affected to one Particular Church, which happens to be the Ecclefiaftical Constitution of the same Country?

with, tend at all to his Conclusion; then it must be maintain'd that the Church of Any Country is the Civil Constitution of that Country; and that a Disassection to That, is the same ground of Exclusion, as a Disassection to the State commonly so called; which the Dean has never yet attempted to prove.

3. This will be a Great Honour to Christian, Apostolical Churches; and be full of such Consequences, as must of necessity make it equally Just and Right, in some parts of the World, to exclude the Lovers of the Best Church in being, as in other parts of it, to exclude Those who happen to like a Worse Church better.

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4. Nay, As we shall see, in the Sequel, These Principles must of necessity justify All the most bitter Persecutions in the World; only calling The Established Religion, or Church, of any Country, by the happy Name of the Ecclesiastical Constitution of that Realm; which all National Religions equally are, or may be; and then arguing and talking about it, just as a Civil Constitution; and supposing All Oppression, and Cruelty to be Self-Defense: which it all is in this Case, as much as Exclusion from Offices. But to return a little to my own Doctrine;

When I spake, in my former Answer, of the Common Rights of Subjects; and in general against debarring Men from their Civil Rights; or of a Natural Right to a Capacity of Offices; or any thing like it: I was not fo weak as to suppose, that No Restraints were lawful with The Dean has done Me the regard to Offices. Justice to observe, that there is Much to be found in my own Writings inconsistent with this Doctrine. He might have added that I have not long ago, expresly, designedly, and in a long Argument, contended for such Restraints, upon fome accounts: the not upon fuch accounts, F 3 Ι I confess, as the Dean does. And tho' He knows that a Person may sometimes forget the Principles of a Short Sermon, preach'd a few Tears ago; yet He cannot think that I could so wholly forget the Principles of a whole Book, writ in the same Cause, a few Months before, as directly and flagrantly to contradict them. I am still of Opinion, that Difference in Church Matters, as fuch, is no Ground of fuch Restraint, in what is the Common Right of Civil Subjects, confider'd as Civil Subjects; and that They, who have a part in that Common Right, have a Right to plead it in favour of Themselves. Dean may, if He pleases, call this Contention for a Share in what is the Common Right of Mankind, by the Hard Names of Avarice and Lust of Power *. But then He must bear to be told that He does so, only because He is uppermost; and has no occasion for such a Plea: and that if He were amongst the Undermost, He would have Spiric and Sense enough to be one of the first to feel and speak such Grounds of Complaint. He would not then fear, I am perfuaded, to put the Biggest Writer, who should talk in this Style, in mind that There is no End of fuch Reproaches: Nor would He spare to shew his Adversaries that there is nothing easier than to retort them, by telling them to their Face, that the Exclufion of their Fellow-Citizens from Offices,

the Confinement of All to Themselves, and their own Party, is a much more flagrant Instance of Avarice and Lust of Power. Such Words as These, neither contain Argument, nor convey Light: but They carry forward the purposes of a Party, much better than either of them; as They create a Passion of Zeal, which may serve to guard against all Argument, and ex-

tinguish all Light.

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He lays it upon Me, as My Judgment, * that 'ALL Security is Unjust which debars Men from their Civil Rights: That is, fays the Dean, which makes them incapable of holding Offices of Power and Trust: the Consequence of which (as He adds) is, that No Government has any Right to fecure it felf, by excluding from Offices such as They judge Unquali-fied. For this He has quoted p. 193. of my Answer to the Committee. The Dean will not give me leave to be amazed at any thing in a Christian and a Divine. But He cannot blind the Eyes, nor hinder the Sentiments, of all Men of Common Honesty upon such Gross Occafions as these. Whoever will look into that Passage, will see that I was not laying down a general Rule relating to States and Civil Governments; that I was speaking solely of the Church, and of Security to the Church; and that I was delivering My Opinion, that All fuch Security to the Church Established, was Unjust, as debarr'd Men from their Civil

^{*} P. 27, 28.

I supposed Men to have still a Right to Civil Offices, notwithstanding their not liking One Church so well as Another; that This was no Reason to judge Them unqualified to serve the Public; and the like. And does this Good and Christian Writer think that He has no account to give, for his first interpreting My Words, spoken solely of a Security to a Church, as if I had expressly spoken them of All Governments; and then, laying upon Me this Interpretation of his own, (which at best, is but his own Consequential arguing,) as My Judgment. If in Reason He can see no difference between the Church and the State; but can, at any time, for the Benefit of his Cause, turn a Christian, Church into a Political Government; and call the Church of England, the Government: yet He need not lay this upon Me, as my Sentiment, who have all along supposed the contrary. If in Logic, He can see the Goodness of fuch Consequences as this; 'It is not lawful to debar Men from their Civil Rights, merely because They do not like the Constitution of a particular Church: nor is this a Just Security to a Church of Christ: Therefore, It is not lawful to secure a State by debarring Those from Civil Offices, who are Enemies to that State: I fay, If He has Eyes to fee the Justice of such Consequences, yet He might, methinks, leave Me to see for my self; and not represent Me as seeing and holding what such Quick-sighted Eyes alone as his can see. And after all, If He had seriously thought this

to be the True Interpretation, that is, in other Words, the Real Confequence (which it is not) of what I had laid down; yet in Conscience He ought not to have fix'd it upon Me, as being too Senfible and Understanding a Man not to know the Difference between a Consequential Interpretation of a Dodrine, which the Teacher of that Doctrine may not at all be aware of; and the Judgment of Him who teaches it. And the more, because He observes, in this same Paffage, that there is Much in my own Writings inconfistent with This Judgment which He has laid upon Me: which might have led Him to conclude, in Common Justice, that this Sense of my Words was wholly unknown to Me; and therefore could not be my Judgment.

SECT. III.

An Examination of the Dean's Account of the Manner in which the State ought to exercise That Right of Excluding its Subjects from Civil Offices, upon Religious Accounts, which He professes to contend for. Many Self-Contradictions here discover'd.

AT length the Dean, after several Pages, (which He has taken occasion to fill up solely from such a Mistake, I hope, of my Principles, as, I venture to say, No Individual Person, who has but once read my Book, ever thought of besides himself,) comes to consider in what manner the State is to exercise this Right, which He has been contending for.

To which Purpose He lays down the following

Particulars.

I. 'They who have a Legislative Power entrusted with them, are bound to take Care of the Welfare and Preservation of the COMMU-'NIT'Y over which they are placed.' I profes, I cannot see whither this will tend, in the prefent Argument. By the Community, I used to understand the whole Body Politic, whose Ciwil Interest is one and the same. But I suppose, it must be now confined to the Members only of One Church: or else I cannot see what Place it has here, in order to prove that the Legislature has a Right to exclude from Civil Offices, all the Members of other Churches, tho' never fo zelous for the Common Civil Interest of the whole Community. For, if the Members of this one Church do not make up the Whole Community; it will follow from this Maxim that Equal Care is to be taken by the Legislature of Every Part and Every Member of this Community. And if fo, the Dean's Cause is destroy'd, before He begins to defend it.

2. He lays it down that 'Men ought not to be punished for any Offense against the Public, without plain Proof that They have offended.' I am here as much at a Loss to find out what Tendency this likewise has, unless to destroy the Dean's Main Purpose. For as a Dissent from any particular Church, tho' Established, is No Offense against the Public; as it was well known by Protestants when They

They dissented from the Established Popish Charch: so an Exclusion from all Civil Offices, upon Account of such Dissent, is a Punishment, as it has been too well felt to be, by Protestants, both here and in other Countries. And as a Punishment inflicted upon some now, for the sake of what others did Multitudes of Years ago, is truly a Punishment without Proof of any Offense of their own; I cannot but see that the whole Process of the Dean's Argument, in the Seguel, is again destroy'd before hand; and that He continues his usual Favour of pulling down with a strong Hand, what He builds up with a much Wenker.

3. But the Third Proposition is now to make amends for the Two Former and is this. All Governments have a Right to provide against PROBABLE Dangers to the STATE: in Consequence of which They have a Right to provide that all Power in the STATE shall be lodged in such Hands only, as they reasonably judge to be well-affected. 1. Here We have again the Words, Government and State: which can be of no Service to the Dean in his Cause; unless He be refolv'd that the Church, which happens to be fettled in Any Country, shall be the State, and the Civil Government, and the whole Community of that Country. 2. Indeed, if I were reading this Sentence, independently upon the Argument which it is design'd to introduce, I should not doubt but that it was a Profess'd and Designed Argument for employ-

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Persons equally well-affected to the Civil Gavernment; and, for employing, more than Others, Those of all Sorts who have given most Proofs of their Affection to a present Civil Gavernment, whatever their Sentiments in Religion be. To this I am sure it tends; and this is the natural and unavoidable Consequence of it; unless the Dean can prove that the Church is the State, and ought to be considered as such. And what Instunce This Declaration, in Favour of Affection to the Government, will have upon his present Argument, with Regard to Protestant Dissenters, I will leave all to determine.

But He goes on This may help his Lordthip to see (what He seems to be at a great

Loss to understand +) how Confistent it is in Me, to declare against punishing Men in their

Lives or Fortunes for those Reasons; which nevertheless, I think to be good Reasons, for Excluding them from Places of Power and

Truft. Now, our mens avail ave and I.

of this, but that a Man may please Himself with imagining He has changed the Natures of Things, whilst He has only changed their Names: that a Man may form an Inward Resolution, that the Exclusion of Men from Civil Offices shall not be call d Punishment; and then

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fancy that, from the Time of fuch Decision of his own, it shall never more be so esteem'd. Thus it is in the present Case. The Dean has resolved within himself that an Exclusion from all Civil and Military Offices shall not be A Punishment: and therefore, He thinks that He may in express Words very confistently declare Against All Temporal Punishments, and at the fame Time, in as express Words, equally declare For an Exclusion from all Offices. What can We fay to This Amusement; when hitherto the Law it felf has enacted this Incapacity of Offices, as a PENALTY; when the Best Writers, who have ever pleaded for the Lowest Degrees of Hardship upon Any Dissenters, have been fo sincere as to plead for them under the Name of Moderate Penalties: What can we fay to it, but that this Great Discovery (which indeed adds Infult to the Hardship,) was reserv'd for a Genius of Greater Skill in the Legerdemain of Sounds, than These who have gone before Him; for One, who will never be at a Loss to get rid of Difficulties, whilft there is a happy Variety of Words in the World, to tols about, and change Places with. Fortitnate Men! who can thus alter the Scene of Controversy, every Time they fit down to write; and yet be equally successful in All! and can thus impose upon the Ear, just as other Artists do upon the Eye! But that this fubtle Conveyance (to use Mr. Hooker's Expression) may have the less Force here,

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2. Let Us now change the Word Punishment into Suffering: For it is plain, by the Instance which the Dean presently adds, that, tho' He has here put Punishment, as a Word very proper for his Purpose; (hoping that No one will call an Exclusion a Punishment, because Nonconformity happens not yet to have been confider'd by Him as a Crime properly punishable:) yet, He means the inflicting some Temporal Hardship, or Suffering. For He instances in the Beating a Man who has an Infectious Distemper, as a thing very Unreasonable; and in the denying Him a Place in the Family, as a very reasonable one: which He parallels with the Confistency of his Doctrine, which condemns Punishing Men, in their Lives or Fortunes, upon some Accounts, but applauds the Excluding them from Offices upon the same Accounts. Now, what I call'd upon him, in my Former Book, to give some Account of, was this; viz. The Confistency of his Teaching, in one Place, that the Civil Magistrate has no Right to make Men fuffer, for Any Differences in those Points, in which the Reason of Mankind permits them to differ; with his contending, in other Places, for such Acts, as exclude Men from Offices on Account of those very Differences. If this Exclusion be not a Punishment; (which it must be suppos'd to be, unless you will suppose Men treated worse than their Neighbours, for Nothing;) yet it is a Temporal Suffering; and the Law, which enacts it, enacts what is a Suffering to Those who fall under it. And theretherefore, the Contradiction still remains, unless the Dean can prove it Good Sense in it self, and a great Comfort to the Persons concern'd, to speak to Them in the following Manner-'Indeed We abhor the Doctrine of the Magistrate's Punishing you, on the Account of Those Things in which the Reason of Mankind per-We only make you mits them to differ. Suffer a very great Temporal Inconvenience, and Hardship. We beg of you to believe that This is not a Punishment. It is only the enafting something, which makes you suffer what your Neighbours do not fuffer. And this being only, as to Places of Power and Trust; this is not punishing you in your Lives and Fortunes. It is only Excluding you from such Places, as have by Accident indeed Great Profits annexed to them; But in which we confider only the Power and Trust: and therefore, cannot think you are punish'd in your Fortunes; tho' it is certain, without such Exclusion, you might have an equal Chance with others of enlarging your Fortunes, by These Posts, which are seen to be the great Instruments of getting and increasing Estates. As for the Mark set upon you by this Exclusion, as upon Persons unworthy of any Trust and Confidence in Pub lic Affairs; and your Incapacity to serve your Country; This, we hope, is a Trifle, not worthy of the Name of Suffering, or Punishment, in the Account of any Honest Man.' Such an Address to Any Persons, under these, or the like, Legal Inconveniences, would, I believe, be esteem'd equally abfurd, and infulting. 3. Let

3. Let the Dean therefore, not think to blind the Eyes of the Reader by a Parallel which supposes the very Thing in Question; viz. that Men have forfeited that Right, (which otherwife they had,) merely by differing in Religion from the Establish d Religion: a Maxim, which will have an excellent Influence upon the Profession of the True Religion, where-ever it is Undermost! But let Him, if He has a Mind seriously to defend Himself, shew the Consistency of these two Things which He teaches; first, that Men ought not to suffer in their Temporal Concerns; that is, ought not to be esteem'd and treated as Persons who have forfeited their Right to any Civil Advantages, on the Account of their Religious Differences in Points, in which the Reason of Mankind permits them to differ: and secondly, at the same Time, that They ought, and may justly, Suffer in their Temporal Concerns, on the Account of Those very Differences in Points, in which the Reason of Mankind plainly permits them to differ. Instead of putting the Case of a Manwith an Infectious Distemper upon Him, [a Figure of Speech which can be thrown upon one another equally by the Zelots of All Religious Parties!] let Him put the Case of a Man differing in Complexion or Features from the Rest of the Family: and then let Him shew that to Exclude such an One out of the Family, is any more lawful, than to Beat him. Let him remember likewise, that if He will consider Diffent from an Established Church, (for his Argument

ment all the Way has an equal Influence upon All such,) as an Infectious Distemper; the Episcopal Protestant will be the Man with the Infectious Distemper in a Popish or Presbyterian

Country. And,

4. If He will go on to maintain that this Diffent is fuch an Infectious Distemper, as that it may be guarded against by Exclusion from Offices, as Self-defense only; let him consider that his Parallel here must carry Him much farther, and make Him contradict Himself, whether He will or no. For supposing You cannot defend your felf against this Man with an Infectious Distemper, but by beating Him, and perhaps cannot keep Him out of the House without it; Selfdefense certainly justifies this Beating: And consequently, if the Man with the Infectious Distemper answers to the Man who dissents from an Established Church; and this be a Truly just Parallel, in order to declare the Meaning of the Dean's Principle; the same Self defense will justify the punishing Such Men in their Lives and Fortunes, which justifies the beating of the Distemper'd Man. Thus the Inquisition argues, and thus it practifes! But what I now observe is, that the Dean must seek for another Parallel; if He will shew Us, by any Instance, the Confiftency and Truth of his Doctrine in the feveral Parts of his Works: Unless He be willing to be thought to maintain Principles, which in truth as certainly justify Capital Punishments, for the fake of Religious Differences, as they do Any Lesser worldly Penalties. SECT.

SECT. IV.

The Second of the Two Subordinate Points before-mention'd, consider'd.

IFE now come to the Application of the Principles already laid down, to the Cafe in Debate *. ' The Right (fays the Dean) of the State, to limit the Subjects Capacity of holding Places of Power and Trust being fupposed; it still remains to be consider'd, whether They had fufficient reason for what They did in the Case before Us.' Would not any One imagine that the Way had been now prepared by Principles, which might have a Close Respect, in their Consequences, to the Sequel of the Argument? And yet, if We look back, We shall not find any thing more done, in express Words, but the General Right of the State to take care of the Community; and to exclude out of Offices ill-affected Perfons; and to lodge Power in the Hands of Thase only, who are well-affected to the Public; and the like. Whereas, in the present Cause, the Preliminaries which ought to have been proved, are fuch as these, viz. That the State has a Power to limit this Capacity, on accounts merely Religious: That the Civil Government need not have equal regard to the Whole Community: That the Legislature may justly ex16

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clude Those from Offices, who are truly in the Interest of the State; merely because They are not so well-affected to any Church Established : That Law-makers may justly debar from ferving their Country, Those who are well-affelted to the Public, for the want of an Affection to the prevailing Forms of Religion, under the Notion and Name of the Ecclefiastical Constitution of a Realm: And the like. The Dean knew to how many Inconveniences of Speech and Argument These Principles, expressly maintain'd, would lead a Christian Writer; and to how many Self-Contradictions They would lead Him, in particular; too gross to be palliated with all his Skill: And therefore, He wifely Supposes them to be included in what He has been faying. He wraps up the Church in the State-Mantle. He makes it a Constitution of a Realm: and so, confounding it with the Civil State, orders the Principles of Civil Government, (which belong entirely and only to Civil Government,) to serve the Purposes of a Christian Church. And this, with fuch Dexterity of Hand, and fuch Address of his Pen, that the Unwary Reader does not fo much as know where He is, whilft it is transacting; and little imagines that the Application of Principles, in which the very word Religion, or Church, and every other Word relating to them, is avoided, can possibly be the Sole Premisses of fuch Conclusions as follow. But thus it is. For the Dean, immediately after laying down these Principles, comes to consider 'Whether the State · bad G 2

had sufficient reason for what They (He means, Our Legislators) did in the Case before Us.

In order to clear the Affirmative fide of this Question, He gives Us a little Piece of History, from the Reformation, here in England, to Our own Times: in which there are feveral very remarkable Paffages; tho' hardly Any thing more remarkable than this, that a Christian Divine, professing to write upon this Occasion, * merely because the Gospel and Christianity were brought in to the Dispute, should not have thought it worth his while to have gone back farther; and have shewn the Excellent Influence of his General Principles upon Christians and Christianity, when the Power of making and executing Laws was Univerfally in the Hands of Hea-To return, thens.

He observes, at the Entrance of his Story, that 'The Government of England is in the 'Hands of Christians: and so far, He hopes, 'there is no Fault.' 1. I will add, if He pleases, that so is the Government of Scotland, of France, of Spain, &c. And the Nonconformists, in all these, must feel the happy Influence of his Principles, whether He will or no. Nay, 2. I will add, that it is of no importance to his Cause, whether the Government be in the Hands of Prosessed Christians, or not: and that, if it were in the Hands of Heathens,

His Principles would give the same Right to Them against Christians, as They do to Christians against One another. And, 3. I will be so free as to observe that the Point of Concern to any Nation is not so much, Whether the Government be in the Hands of Professed Christians, who have it in their Hands, behave Themselves like Christians, in their making and executing only Such Laws as are consistent with Moral Justice, and Christian Charity.

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Protestants.

The Dean goes on, 'When They, in whom' this Power was lodg'd, (that is, the Power of Government in England) found it necessary to forfake the Errors of the Church of Rome, and to throw off the heavy Yoke of popish ' Power, under which They had been long oppress'd; They saw at the same time that Religion could not be preserved without some settled Order and Discipline. And tho' the Reformation claim'd the Use of the Scriptures, as the undoubted Right of Every ' Christian, who was capable of using them, ' yet They had Sense enough to know that to leave every Man to make the best of his Bible, without any farther Direction or Restraint, would naturally tend to Confusion, and fill the Kingdom with all the Wild Conceits that Ignorance and Enthusiasm could produce.' In the short Compass of which Sentence, there are several Things full well

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worthy of the Observation of Christians, and

SECT.

SECT. V.

The Dean's Restriction of the Right of Christians to the Use of the Scriptures, which He injuriously charges upon the Reformation, consider'd.

THE Reformation (fays the Dean)
'CLAIM'D the Use of the Scriptures, as the Undoubted Right of Every Chriftian, who was capable of using them.' Now,

1. What is the meaning of this Phrase, that the Reformation claim'd this Use of the Scriptures? Either that the Resormation could not be carried on, without this Use of the Scriptures; or that it was the Great Principle of Those, who were the Main Instruments of the Resormation, that this Use of the Scriptures was the Right of Every Christian, capable of Using them. Now it will lie upon the Dean to shew, that the Resormation was not carried on by claiming the Use of the Scriptures for All Christians, without any such Restriction; or that the First and Principal of the Resormers did not equally claim it for All.

2. This, I say, with a View to another Question, which now offers it self, viz. What is the Meaning of these Exclusive Words in the Dean's Proposition, 'Every Christian, who was capable of Using them'? Did the Reformation claim it for Some, and not for Others? Did the First Preachers against Popery, preach thus to the People, 'You have All a Right to the

Use of the Scriptures; which You are all, even the Meanest true Christian, capable of using to your great Benefit. This the Governours of the Church of Rome debar You of, under the Notion that You are all, Uncapable. Now We first claim it for you All; but then, as soon as We have got the Power out of their Hands, We shall shew that it is only some Few that We mean; that this Right belongs not to All, but to some Select Persons, whom We shall think and judge capable. I fear, the Reformation would have gone but heavily on, if Any such Principles as these had been fairly open'd, and laid before the World: and that the Papists would have visibly triumph'd over all the

Efforts of fuch Protestant Popery.

3. If the meaning be, that the preffing Necessities of the Cause of the Reformation claim'd fuch a Right at first; but that, as foon as the Reformation was pretty well effected, the Civil Legislature, the Temporal Powers, might and did justly and rightfully give a Check to the Use of this Right; which was only to ferve a present Occasion, and after that to be cafhier'd: then the Indefenfible Absurdity and Difgrace of this Account of our Reformation, must be resolved into this, That whilst it was necessary to get rid of Popish Tyranny, This was a Divine Law, and an Essential Right of Christians: But that, as foon as Power was fertled in Protestant Hands, it became only a Burthen and a Nuisance to those in Power; and a Civil Law immediately became necessary to G 4

restrain SOME in the Use of That, which was

before the Divine Right of ALL.

4. The Intention of the Dean's Protestant Restriction, Capable of Using them, cannot be merely to exclude Those who are naturally Uncapable either of reading themselves, or of bearing others read the Scriptures: because Those who are spoken of are supposed to be Christians, which fuch Persons are as Uncapable of being, as They are of reading, or hearing; and because the Abuses hinted at are Abuses and Conceits supposed to be introduced and increas'd by Those who can and do read, or hear, the

Scriptures.

5. If therefore, We are at length come to this, in a Protestant Country, to hear a Learned and Celebrated Divine maintain publickly, That there are some Christians who have No Right to the Use of the Scriptures; or, which is all one, who may justly be restrained, in the Use of this Right, by the Laws of Men. The next Question will be, How much this differs from the Proceedings in those Popish Countries, where this Use of the Scripture is denied to All the People, because All are Uncapable; or in Those, where it is restrained to some, because They are judg'd Capable by their Leaders, and denied to Others, because They are judg'd Uncapable?

6. This will lead Us to fee plainly Who are to judge of this Capacity. Not the People themselves: for every One will, without doubt, judge Himself to be capable.

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feriors over Superiors: For where Power is, there the Claim of such a Right will never be given up to Others. Nothing remains, but that this Judgment must be entirely in the Breast of Superiors. And whether these be call'd Temporal or Spiritual, Civil or Ecclesia-stical, it will come to the same Point at last.

For,

7. This ever was, and ever will be, the Refult; (which is sufficient to shew the Full meaning of those Anti-Protestant Words, Capable of
Using them;) viz. That They are capable of
using them, who are disposed and resolved to
sind nothing in them contrary to what their
Superiors find: and They are Uncapable, who
go to them, without this Submissive and Humble Spirit. They are capable of using them, who,
we are well assured, are likely to use them just
as We our selves do: and They will ever be
judg'd Uncapable of using them, who are come
to that Pitch of Self-conceit, as to think it No
Crime to differ from Us.

8. And this is exactly conformable to the Custom in some Popish Countries. There is a Licence for some of the Laity, after strict Examination and Good Assurances, by which They are empower'd legally to read the Scriptures: whilst Others are debarr'd from it, who are like to make any Use of it, to the Disadvantage of the present Possessor. And thus They likewise, as well as the Dean, allow the Use of the Scriptures, as the Right of Every Christian, capable of using them. But then, They claim to Them-

Themselves the Right of judging Who are ea-

pable.

9. But what a Banter upon All that can be call'd Common Sense, must Christians and Protestants think Themselves still affronted with; whilst We tell them that We CLAIM the Use of the Scriptures for ALL Christians Capable of using them; but that We reserve to Our selves the Judgment of that Capacity? Will not Any Man of Common Probity and Common Underflanding bid Us take back our Good Words, and our Hypocritical shew of Favour; and act a more open and generous part, by denying this Right to All, (as the Groffest and Most Confistent Popery does,) than We act, by mocking them with the Present of a Right, the Exercise of which We give and take away at pleasure. Were I a Papist, I would rejoyce to meet with fuch an Advocate for Protestanrifm, as would chuse to maintain it upon the Foot of Popery it self: I mean, upon a Principle, which tho' not design'd, yet I would shew by degrees to lead back inevitably to the groffest Part of Popery it felf.

SECT. VI.

Observations upon the Dean's Account of our Legislators Good Sense, in seeing and preventing the Dreadful Consequences of leaving every Christian to an Unrestrained Use of the Scriptures.

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THE Dean goes on in the Passage beforecited—'YET They (now We are come to the
Civil Powers again) 'had SENSE enough to
'know that to leave every Man to make the
'Best of his Bible, without any farther Di'rection or RESTRAINT, would NATU'RALLY tend to Consusson, and fill the
'Kingdom with all the Wild Conceits that
'Ignorance and Enthusiam could produce.'
In this Passage,

1. One cannot but observe the odd Connexion and Antithefis in this Sentence - 'THO' the ' Reformation claim'd the Use of the Scriptures, as the Undoubted Right of Every 'Christian, who was capable of using them; ' Yer - What? By this Tet, We necessarily expect to hear that our Legislators had more Sense, than to agree to what the Reformation claim'd. If This be the meaning; then They had more Sense, than to establish what is declared to be an Undoubted Right. If this be not the Meaning; the Particles Tho and Tet have but little to do in this Sentence; as far I am able to fee. In this Sense, here is a Load laid upon our Legislators; the heavy ImputaImputation of acting contrary to the Express Claim of the Reformation: And for any other Sense; the Words will not, I think, bear it, But why the Dean should be led to speak of the Legislature in this manner, I cannot judge, after He himself had put in that saving Clause, by which He himself had restrained the Use of the Scriptures to Such only, as are capable of using them. For I hope, The Legislature never ordain'd any thing against the Right to the Use of the Scriptures vested in all such as are capable of using them. I am sure, This Saving Clause alone might have furnish'd them with Restraint enough upon their Protestant

Subjects. But,

2. Whether We take this part of the Sentence, with, or without, any Connexion with the former part; it instructs Us that Our Legislators ' had Sense enough to know that it was not fit to leave Every Man to make the Best of his Bible, without any farther Direction and Re-Straint.' These last Words must have regard to the Direction of Acts of Parliament; and to Civil Restraints: because by the word They in this Sentence, are meant They in whose Hands the Government of England was. And this Direction and Restraint must have relation to the Use of the Scriptures, of which mention is made in this same part of the Sentence. that here it is in effect declared by a Christian and a Protestant Divine, that it is the Glory of our Legislators, to have provided that Every Man shall Not be left to make the Best of his Bible:

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Bible; and to have established not only Directions, but Restraints, to this purpose: For He faith, this was in order to prevent All the Wild Conceits, which properly belong to Religion, and not to Civil Government. Now, if it be the Glory of a Church of England Legislature to provide that Christians shall not be left, in Religious Matters, to make the Best of their Bibles; then it must be the Glory of a Popish Legislature to do the same, in other Countries; and of a Presbyterian Legislature, in Others. With the Former, the Protestantism of a Church of England-Man is one of these Wild Conceits, which comes from the Unrestrained Use of the Scriptures: and with the Latter, the Government by Episcopacy, if it be held necessary, is elteem'd a Wild Conceit. If fo; Are they not All alike in this respect? And their Glory the fame Difgrace and Infamy to All that can be call'd Christian Freedom?

3. And if this must be the Way, where ever we live; had not Popery itself the first and earliest Right by Prescription to this Glory? Or will it lighten the Chain of such Servitude, only to change the Name from Papal Invasion, to Legal Invasion; from Popish Restraints, to Protestant Restraints? No. It rather increases the Hardship, by adding Mockery to the Tyranny; the Mockery of overbearing Men that They are free, to the Tyranny of loading Them with such Fetters, as We think sit; the Mockery of complementing Them upon their happy Deliverance from the Chains of Popish Tyranny, at a Time

Time when we are putting upon them Chains of our own: at present indeed lighter, but as truly Chains, as the others; and Chains of that Nature, as Every Day to increase in Weight, and Strength, (according to the Too Constant Temper and Disposition of Those who have it in their Power to put them on,) till they return again to that same Degree of Bulk and Hardness, which was before so Unsupportable and Intolerable.

4. The Reasons here given for the Necessity and Wisdom of what the Dean calls Farther Directions and Restraints, put upon Christians by the Civil Power, in order not to leave Every one to make the Best of that Bible which the Reformation claim'd for All, are of a piece with the Destrine they support; and equally worthy of the Pen of a Protestant Diwine. 'To leave every Man to make the Best of his Bible, without any farther Direction or Restraint, would (it seems,) naturally f tend to Confusion, and fill the Kingdom with e all the Wild Conceits that Ignorance and & Enthusiasm could produce. It is impossible to help expressing something more than Surprize, when One reads such Words as these; under the Cover of a Defense of our Establish'd Church, and our Ecclefiastical Constitution. And the Dean must pardon Me, if I insist, even too long, upon feveral Points of the Utmost Importance, when there is so great and so remarkable an Occasion for it. And,

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t. If the leaving Every Man freely, and without Restraint, to make the Best of his Bible, be fuch an Unspeakable Unhappiness, because of the Wild Conceits coming from Ignorance, &c; For God's fake, Why was the World disturb'd with a Reformation at all: which would indeed have been only the Dream or Image of a Reformation, without claiming this Universal Right of Christians, to all Christians equally? If this be fuch a Terrible Confequence, as to justify Humane Restraints; Why was the Popish Restraint disturb'd, which would have prevented this Mischief more effectually, if Restraints could do it? Shall We still go on to mock Mankind, and tell them That a Popish Restraint is indeed bad, but that a Protestant Restraint is very good and useful: That the Christian People have a Right against Any Restraint, but what We our selves lay upon them: That the Papists cannot judge who of the Laity are capable of the Use of the Scriptures, and who not; but that We can: and the like? It is Time, methinks, to leave off fuch Partiality to our selves, in the Case of Religion; and fuch Infults upon our Brethren: lest the Meanest and most Ignorant of them, by Degrees, should come to see that We speak as if Popish Restraints had been removed, for Our own sakes only, and not for Theirs.

2. If the Wild Conceits which Ignorance produces, are the Natural Product of Christians being left, without Restraint, to make the Best of their Bibles; in what is it that the Ignorance

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of Christians consists? And by what is it that it can be cured? The Ignorance amongst Chri-Stians was ever hitherto, as I have thought, esteem'd by Protestants to have been the Natural Result of Christians NOT being left to make the Best of their Bibles; and to have been owing to the Restraints of Men, with regard to the Scriptures. And how could it be otherwise, but that They, who were not allowed the Use of the Scriptures freely, must be Ignorant of the Truths contain'd in them? Confequently, The very and only Cure for this Evil, and for all the Wild Conceits which came from this Ignorance, could be No other, but laying open the Holy Scriptures to the View and Knowledge of all Men. This was the Great and most Moving Topic of the whole Reformation. It was the main Thing proposed by the Honest and Unpolitic Part of Those who engag'd in it, to cure the Ignorance of Christians by this Remedy. But now, it feems, The Wild Conceits which the Ignorance of Christians it self produces, naturally arise from their being left to the Use of the Scriptures, from which alone They can obtain the Knowledge of Christ's Law; that is, from that very Thing which alone can cure their Igno-To what Purpose then Did any of the Reformers trouble themselves to translate the Bible, or even the Gospel of Christ? Why was that facred Mystery, and Holy Secret, unlock'd, which was, till that Time, in the Hands of Those who call'd Themselves Learned; and kept

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kept from Vulgar Eyes, for this very Reason, in pretense, for sear of Wild Conceits in the People; but in Reality, for sear of Opposition from Those, who might come to see the Truth as well as Themselves? The Scriptures, so lock'd up, as to be only open'd as far as Popery pleas'd, had a much better Appearance, and were more consistent with such Pretenses as These, than the same Scriptures translated openly without Restraint, for the sole Use of the Unlearned; and then, the Free Use of them guarded by Legal Directions and Restraints, for sear of those very Evils, which it was translated in order to prevent and remedy. For,

3. In Case of These Wild Conceits in any Christians; I would beg to know, How, and by what Methods, in the Protestant Way, These are to be cured. Not, I suppose, by Gallies, or Racks, or Inquisitions. These cannot cure any Inward Sentiment; tho' they may force Outward Profession. And I now have to do with One, who in Words utterly disclaims Every Degree of Persecution. The Cure therefore, amongst Christians and Protestants, can be no other than Instruction. This Instruction can be grounded upon nothing but the Scriptures; especially the New Testament. But No Text of this can have any Force upon a Christian; unless He be supposed to have a Right to make the Best of his Bible. He cannot be convinced, without judging of the Meaning and Tendency of this Text: and He cannot judge of these, without having a Right supposed and granted 1 11 .2

to Him, of making the Best of his Bible, without Restraint. The Use of the Bible cannot naturally produce those Wild Conceits, which It alone can cure: No more than a Remedy can naturally produce a Disease, which it always

naturally tends to cure. Again,

4. That the Free and Unrestrained Use of the Scriptures, in the Hands of Every Christian, is not the Thing which naturally produces Wild Conceits, is evident from All those Wild Conceits which are produced for want of this, by Ignorance and Enthufiasm, in Those Countries where this Use is denied to the Laity; and in the very Centre of Popery it self. How many are the Monsters of Enthusiasm, and Ignorance, amongst the Mystical Writers of that Church, which locks up the Scripture from the People? And how are the various Inconfiftent Mysteries and Tenets of the several Orders in it, all maintain'd and kept alive, for want of granting this Free Use of the Scripture to all the Laity? The Wildest Conceits in the World, are where there is Most Restraint: and, therefore, it cannot be, that the Free Use of the Scripture should naturally produce, what is, in the most enormous Degree, produced where it Besides that it has often been observ'd that fuch Arguments as These prove as strongly against the Clergy's Right to the Scriptures; who have not been found to be always Learned Enough, or Rational Enough, to guard against the Wildest Conceits which Ignorance and Enthufiasm can produce.

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5. When the Papists argue against the Scripture in the Vulgar Tongue; and the Right of Christians to make Use of it, in order to judge for Themselves in Religious Matters; This is their Great Topic, that to 'leave Every Man to make the Best of his Bible, naturally tends to Confusion; and to all the Wild Conceits which Ignorance and Enthusiasm can produce.' And for Experience, they appeal to all the Wild Conceits amongst Protestants; the Divisions and Subdivisions; the various Systems, Schemes, and Churches, erected by Them, as foon as foon as they once forfook the Centre of Unity, and the One Pacific Maxim of denying the Use of this Right to the Christian People. The Answer to this is, not only to reproach Them with the same Evil of Differences, and Divisions, and Wild Conceits; (which yet demonstrates that They assign for a Cause that which is Not the True Cause:) but also to observe to them that the only Question is, Whether All Christians have not this Right to a Free Use of the Scriptures, given them by God, and by Christ; a Right, without which They cannot possibly judge what to receive, or what to reject. This We contend to be Their Right. And if it be; We argue that we are not concern'd for the Event and Iffue of this: or responsible for it, unless with regard to our selves, and our own Conduct. If any one, thro' a Mifunderstanding of Scripture, falls into Wild Conceits; it lies between His own Conscience and that God, the Judge of the World,

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World, who gave him this Right, notwithstanding the Possibility or Probability of his
being mistaken in the Use of it. We cannot justify the taking away, or restraining, a
Right by Humane Laws, which belongs to
Men by a Divine Law, as to Creatures capable of Religion; under which Consideration
No Humane Laws can have a proper Authority over them. We may, with more Justice
and Equity, restrain Men from making the
Best of their Eyesight, or of their Common Prudence in Worldly Assairs; than from making
the Best of that Law, which God has proposed
to All, who have it in their Power to hear of it.
This Answer to this Popish Pretense, I consess,

I can understand, and maintain.

But if the Answer of a Church-of-England-Man to a Roman Catholic must be this, ' The Reformation indeed claim'd this Right, of making the Best of their Bible, to All Christians capable of using it; as their Undoubted Right, and their Right, consider'd in their Religious Capacity: But then We, who have Power, maintain All not to be capable of Using it. And therefore, reserve to our selves the Judgment of this Capacity, according to which We restrain this Gift of God.' Or thus, 'The Reformation, The Cause it self, and the Preachers of it, claim'd indeed this Right for All Christians. But as foon as we had clear'd this Point from Tour Power, and the Legislature was in Protestant Hands, (so call'd,) Our Governours had Sense enough to know that Tou were in a great Meafure fure in the Right; and that the Wild Conceits with which you reproach'd Us, were naturally owing to the Free Use of the Scriptures; and therefore, that Parliamentary Directions and Refraints were necessary to be put upon That, which before we declared to be a Divine Right. And ever fince this time, We are no more for leaving Every Christian to make the Best of his Bible, than Tou are: knowing how to use the Power God has given Us, as well as You. We do not think it proper indeed to deny abso. lutely this Right; or to burn and destroy all the Translations of the Bible: But We have Sense enough to add Restraints to this Right. And therefore, You cannot repreach Us with giving any Encouragement to Wild Conceits, that differ from what we our felves hold: because We restrain, in a lesser Degree, what Tou restrain either in a greater, or in the Whole.'

I cannot doubt of the High Delight and Full Satisfaction with which an Understanding Roman-Catholic would hear this Answer; first, because by This He would argue himself into a firmer Belief that His own was the Right and True Way, to which Protestants themselves were insensibly bending back their Steps: and secondly, because He would know how to confound, and perhaps convince, the next weak Protestant He met, that All the Talk of Reformation was Cant and Grimace; and that All that had been done by Protestants, was declared, in Effect, by their Greatest Advocates, (since Power had made it safe to declare it,)

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of Restraint and Direction; and removing Power, by a Dextrous Slight of Hand, from Some, to Others: altering indeed for the present many Particulars about which it was exercised, but still retaining and exercising it upon such Principles, as will carry them farther and farther back, whenever They shall have a Mind to it, from Directions to Force; and from small Degrees of Restraint, to a Total Arbitrary One.

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6. The Truth of the Matter, I think is this. If these Wild Conceits, which the Dean fays naturally arise from Every Christian's being left to make the BEST of his Bible, immediately affect the State; or professedly avow the Lawfullness of disturbing it; or break out into Any Overt-Acts contrary to the Interest or Laws of it: then, the Legislature, the Supreme Power, has an Undoubted Right to punish and restrain fuch Persons, led by such Wild Conceits; without being obliged to take Cognizance of what cannot be judg'd of, whether these Wild Conceits are really Principles of these Mens Religion, or only pretended to be fo. But if these Wild Conceits, suppos'd to be really Principles of Religion in some Men, obtain'd or confirm'd by reading the Bible, are fuch as do not affect the Public Good; as do not openly and avowedly either break out into Actions destructive of it, or necessarily lead to them: The Dean Himself and I have long ago agreed, with a perfect Harmony, that the Civil Magistrate has nothing to do, to enter with his Directions, and Restraints of

of Temporal Laws, which are executed by Tem-. poral Power, into these Matters. The People? in both these Cases, have still an unalienable Right to make the Best of their Bible, as All Lawful Governments have an Unalienable Right to the Self-Defense of Force and Power, in their Civil Concerns. Whatever their Wild Conceits in Religion are; tho', in Cases immediately affecting Public Good, They may and ought to be guarded against: Yet, They can be cured by Nothing but reading, hearing, and confidering the Law of God; that is, by making the Best of their Bible. But that These Wild Conceits NATURALLY arise from Every Christian's being left to make the Best of his Bible, (which I am forry to have ever heard from so Considerable and Celebrated a Writer,) let Him who has faid it, prove ; to the Confusion of All Protestant Arguments; to the Joy of Every Good Catholic; and to the Shame of the Protestant Cause, and of All that was ever yet call'd by the Name of Reformation.

7. One might go on to ask, What our Legislators have deserv'd at the Dean's Hands, to induce Him to treat them after this manner; as Persons, who had Sense enough to see it to be high time to put a stop to the Progress of Those Principles, which alone redeem'd Themselves from the Intolerable Yoke of Popery; as Governours, who have by Humane Laws restrain'd the Use of a Right, sounded upon a Divine Law, and exercis'd about Points of Religion only; who have put a stop in the Way H 4

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of Those Christians who endeavour to make the Best of their Bible; and have confined Them to another-guise Religion than what arises from thence. Where, or How, the Legislature of this Nation has been guilty of this, He alone, who has laid it upon them, is obliged to thew. And if This be his Defense of the Established Church; and He can shew that this Establishment was the Refult of the Wisdom of Our Governours, designing Any fort of Discouragement to Christians from making The Best of their Bible; I must leave it to all Protestants to judge whether this be not fuch a Defense, as turns the Glory of a Protestant Church into Shame, by making it differ in nothing, but in Degree, and that for the present only, from the very Maxims and Foundations of That Church, from which it fled with so much Terrour, and so much Haste.

What the Dean will fay to All that I have alledged upon this Head: Whether He will be still more and more Witty upon my Zeal against Popery; and again accuse Me as endeavouring to blacken My Adversaries as Friends to it; whilst I am contending only that these Principles lead to the same Popery amongst Protestants, which They forsook and abhorr'd in Papists: Whether He will say, I have mistaken or misrepresented His Meaning and Design; I know not. He may say, as He pleases. If I have mistaken or misrepresented Him, in this Passage, I shall be more glad

glad to find it made out clearly, than I shall be to have confuted all that He has writ; because it is a Matter of the utmost Importance to Every Protestant Church equally; and because it will be an Advantage to the Cause of Religion amongst Protestants here, to have His Concurrent Judgment in so great a Matter. I accuse Him not of designing, or of holding, Those Consequences, which, I think, I see to flow from His Principles; if I can read and understand them. But when I see the Undoubted Right of Every Christian to the Use of the Scriptures, restrained by such Words as -Capable of using them; which necessarily suppose a Judgment of this Capacity lodg'd somewhere: When I see this Claim, thus Restrain'd, made the Claim of the Reformation: When I fee that Every Man ought not to be left to make the Best of his Bible, without farther Directions and Restraints; which therefore, are to hinder Him in the Exercise of his Right to make the Best of his Bible: When this is declared to be necessary for fear of All the Wild Conceits that Ignorance and Enthusiasm can produce; amongst which, the whole Tenour of His Design, and the Purport of All that He has already faid, requires Him to put All Non-Conformity, All Non-approbation of the Ecclefiastical Constitution of the Realm: And, what is more, When All these Wild Conceits produced by Ignorance and Enthufiasm, are declar'd, without any Ceremony, to proceed NATURALLY from every Christian's hains left to make the

BEST of his Bible; which explains likewise what He must mean, consistently with the rest of the Sentence, by Those who are CAPA-BLE of using it: When All this is laid before the World, in so open a manner, I hope, He and All his Friends will excuse Me, for having taken the Allarm; and having endeavour'd to guard the Protest ant Cause from the Infamy, and the Protestant People of this Realm from the Danger, of fuch Principles. As for Himfelf; I say again, I neither know, nor concern my felf, how far his Thoughts led Him into his own Doctrine, whilft He was conveying it to the World. He might perhaps mean Nothing by it but to fill a Page with Words, which are indeed full enough of Life and Spirit, to hide their want of Truth and Justness from many Common Readers; and to teach them to flight and laugh at a Right, which is declared to be fo Big with Evils, as to call for the Civil Magistrate's Directing and Restraining Arm. But whatever was his Intent; and whether He truly maintains the Points I have been confuting or not: this makes no difference either as to the Reality and Perniciousness of the Principles here express'd in plain words; or as to the Unavoidable Consequences flowing from them, which He cannot prevent from attending, in their natural Course, upon such Doctrines.

ter, which of Us most contains the Honour of our Effet with AIV Lity of actions and against

A Farther Examination of the Dean's Foundation of our Church-Establishment.

HE Dean proceeds thus in his Glerious Account of the Grounds of our Establishment, * They (that is, They in whom the Civil Government was lodg'd) considered farther, that it was the Will of Christ that there ' should be a Visible Church: and the They had withdrawn from the Church of Rome, as being Corrupt, yet They were obliged to ' visible Communion.' They consider'd farther: that is, They not only consider'd the Difmal Effects of leaving Every Man to make the Best of his Bible; Unrestrained in this respect by any humane Laws, as Christ had left Every Man; but They consider'd also that it was the Will of Christ that there should be a Visible Church, &c. And, for These Reasons, says the Dean, They continued the National Church, ' &c.' Which, (he presently observes,) was Established by Law, after its being freed from the Errors, &c. If Thefe were the Reasons of this Procedure; then the Arguments, upon which Our Legislators proceeded, are very well worth stating: that All Friends to the Church may the more plainly fee upon what a Christian and Protestant Bottom the Dean founds and builds up all its Glory; and judge the better, which of Us most consults the Honour of our Establishment: He, who lays such Imputations upon It; or I, who wipe them off.

'The Reformation claim'd the Use of the Scriptures, as the Undoubted Right of E-

very Christian, capable of using them.'

But the Civil Governors of the Land had Sense enough to know that All Wild Conceits na-

turally arise from Every Man's being lest to make the best of His Bible, without farther

Directions and Restraints.

Therefore, They resolved to have a National Church, established by Humane Laws, for this blessed Reason.

The Reformation claim'd this? If the Dean had purfued the Affair up higher; and had spoken like what He is, a Man of Sense and Understanding, He would have said, Christianity claims this Right for All; and supposes All Christians as capable of making Use of it, (I mean, as to what concerns their Eternal Salvation,) as They are of being truly Christians. The Religious Part of the Reformation was the Work of Good, but Frail, Men: and All fuch Works partake of the Frailties of those Instruments which God is pleas'd to make use of, where He does not think fit miraculously to interpose. But Christianity was the Work of God Himself. And upon this account, it will be fit for Us to try this Argument, putting Christianity instead of the Reformation.

* Christianity claims the Use of the Scriptures, as the Undoubted Right of Every Christian, without any Restraint from Other Men.'

But our Civil Governours had too much Sense, not to see the Evil Consequences NATURALLY flowing from hence, without their adding Humane Directions and Restraints.' And,

'Therefore, They Established this National

' Church.' Or thus,

'Our Blessed Saviour lest Every Christian to make the Best of his Bible, notwithstanding He knew and saw all the Evil Consequences NATURALLY or accidentally flowing from hence.'

'But Our Legislators, Fifteen Hundred Years after this, had Sense enough to see that This was not right; but that Restraints by Humane Laws were necessary.'

'Therefore, They Establish'd a National Church, in order to this good End; that Every Christian might Not be left to make the Best

of his Bible, without further Restraints.

We see now, by this State of the Case, that it is not the Wisdom of Men, against the Wisdom of Men, against the Wisdom of our Civil Governours, against the Principles of our Religious Resormers: but the Wisdom of Men, against the Wisdom of Christ himself; the Prudence of Law makers, thinking it necessary to add Resolutions, in order to hinder the exercise of a Right which He himself left to Every Christian unrestrained;

unrestrained; and which Christians exercised for some Hundreds of Tears, before it could be refrain d by Civil Laws; in all which time the Church of Christ subsisted, and was as visibly, at least, the Church of Christ, as it has been since. I defire leave here to put in a Caution, that I may not be abused, and misrepresented, as if I were now arguing against all National Churches, or Establishments: when I am really vindicating Them from the Difgrace of Such Supports; and arguing only against such Weak and Shameful Reasons, as this Great Advocate for Our Establishment declares to have been the very Reasons for continuing and Establishing the Church of England. Another of his Arguments, put into Form, is this.

Our Civil Governours consider'd that it was the Will of Christ that there should be a Visible Church: that is, amongst other things, That Professed Christians should meet together in Common Assemblies for Public Wor-

Thip, and Church-Communion, &c.

Therefore, They continued and Establish'd

a National Church.

mained;

This again is an Excellent Reason for a Civil Establishment of a Church of Christ. 'It was Our Saviour's Will that All Christians should meet together in Common Assemblies.' Therefore, The Civil Governours, by Humane Laws, thought sit to enact and appoint such Circumstances of these Assemblies, as would effectually hinder Many Christians from meeting their Brethren in them.

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Again, It is evident beyond all Contradition that Humane Laws neither can make, nor unmake, the Visibility of a Christian Church. It is plain from Experience that there was a Visible Christian Church near Three Hundred Years, before there could be a National Church, Establish d by Humane Laws. The Dean's Way of arguing here therefore, does great Honour to our Law-makers, and our Establishment. The Case, upon the True Foot, must have stood thus.

'Our Governours consider'd that it was Christ's Will that there should be a Visible Church' But a Visible Church there may be, and has been, not only without, but against, the Laws of the Powers of this World.' Therefore, Our Civil Governours had Sense enough to see that This was no Reason for an Establishment of a Church by Humane Laws: because without such Establishment the Church is and must be visible.'

But, as the Dean has laid down his Reasons,

it stands thus.

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Our Civil Governours consider'd, it was the Will of Christ that there should be a Visible Church.' And therefore, in great Wisdom, thought sit to take a Method, without which his Church was Visible for about Three Hundred Years; and without which, it would be still as visible as it can be with it. That is, In order to a visible Church, They did That, which has no Relation to the Visibility of it.'

How

How much more Conclusive had the Dean's Argument been, had He put That into the Premiffes, which He has put into the Conclusion; and argu'd thus, 'Our Governours confider'd, It was the Will of Christ that A visible Church should be established in this Realm by Humane Laws, with a Number of particular Ceremonies and Rites, and fuch and fuch Circumstances of Worship. And therefore, They justly continu'd and establish'd this National Church. If He had argued thus, We should at least have said that his Conclusion follow'd well; and that the Premisses were large enough for it. But at present, when his Argument is shewn, it appears to conclude the Justness of one Thing, from Another which contains neither That, nor any thing like it. However, I am glad to find the Will of Christ mention'd at all: because it carries along with it an Acknowledgment that It is this Will of Christ, which ought to determine All Questions amongst Christians; and, by this Means, a fort of an Antidote to what was laid down just now about adding Restraints, for the fake of Evil Consequences, in Case of a Right which Christ left to all his Followers, notwithstanding his clear Forefight of All those Evil Consequences. A plain Demonstration to All Christians that the Evil Confequences of denying, or restraining, This Right, are many More in Number; or much more pernicious, in their Nature, to the Design of the Gospel, than Those on the other Side.

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But to return, These are the Reasons, the Dean assures Us, which determin'd Our Civil Governours to concern Themselves in the Religion of their Subjects; and to continue and establish the National Church, which We see at present. They are, I suppose, His own Reasons for Humane Establishments of Christian Churches. But He should not have put them upon our Civil Resormers, as Theirs; without having more Ground for it, than I hope He has. I am sure, They are such, as cannot increase the Opinion of their Wisdom, or their Good Sense, amongst Any Christians, who will consider the Matter impartially.

SECT. VIII.

The Dean's Account of the People's Obligation to Communion with the Church of England, examin'd: and shewn to be something so shameful that He himself could not forbear to destroy it, by Self-Contradiction, in the same Sentence, in which He lays it down.

THE Dean goes on— 'This Church was 'established by Law: and the People of England were bound to Communion with it as Christian Subjects; so bound, I mean, that nothing but a Persuasion of Errors and Corruptions in the Church, could Excuse a Separation from it.' Here again are many Things worthy of our Observation.

1. The secular Ground upon which the Dean puts the Obligation of the People to communi-

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cate with our Church. It is a Church established by Civil Laws. And the People are obliged to communicate with It, not consider'd as Christians merely, but as Civil Subjects, who happen to be Christians. In a Sentence or Two before, we were told of the Will of Christ: but we are return'd again, in the Conclusion, to the Will of Civil Governours, as the Ground of the Obligation: which Obligation, I confess, He is so kind as immediately to explain away. Upon this,

2. We cannot but observe the Violence of Truth upon all good Understandings, even at the very Instant when They are labouring to shew it in another and a contrary Light; or to contradict it, without designing so to do. It is of that Nature, that it forces it self Abroad; and extorts a Confession from the most Ingenious Men, even at the Expense of Palpable Self-contradiction. Of this We have had several Instances already: and I doubt not, have several more to come. Upon the present Occasion We

must take Notice,

Man to make the Best of his Bible, is set forth as a Reason for the Humane Restraints of our Civil Governours, in Establishing by Law the Church of England. This may please some Persons, for ought I know, who look no farther than Those Words upon which most Stress seems to be laid, as the Foundation of a Cause which They wish to see defended. But at the End of the same Paragraph, Other Persons may find good

good Consolation and Relief; that They are still left to make the Best of their Bible: Or, in other Words, that They are still left to the Conduct of their own Persuasions, whether They will come under these Restraints, or no; to which Conduct of their own Persuasions, They could not be left, unless They were left to make the Best of their Bible. The Dean shews his Good-will: and then, before He is aware, leaves

their Liberty just where He found it.

2. This will be found to lay the Dean open, not only to the flender Reproach of holding and maintaining Self-contradictions and Inconfistencies at the same Time; (which He has long appear'd to despise:) but to the Hard Censure of Himself, as a Member of the Committee; and to the severe Satyr of Himself, as a Private: Writer in this Controversy. For if a Man can be Excused in his Separation from the Establish'd Church, by his own Inward PER-SUASION of Errors and Corruptions in it; even in the Opinion of Him who thinks there are None, or none of any Importance: then, Every Man is, at last, his own sole Judge and Conductor in these Affairs; then, it is not the Real Intrinsic Goodness of a Man's Choice of a Communion, but his own inward Persuasion about it, that is to justify Him before God. Now, This is that very Doctrine of Sincerity, which was censured, by the Dean and his Brethren of the Committee, as making Church-Communion an Indifferent Thing: and accounted very Criminal for the fake of this Consequence, that it left the I 2

the most Ignorant, to be their own Judges and Conductors in the Affair of Church-Communion.

As for the Dean, confider'd as a Private Writer; Let Him but hold this one Page of his Book, containing this Proposition, fairly open before the Eyes of Any Papist, or Dissenter; and then let Him try to convert them. And if they make Him fuch an Answer, as He has represented a Papist making to Me, in his Preface to Mr. Stebbing's Book, taken from his own Acknowledgment that 'Their Inward Persuasion is sufficient to excuse them from ' Conformity:' If They tell him They are in a fafe Way, by his own Confession; and have no Need to make themselves uneasy by listening to any Arguments; and that, if They are excused before God, they desire no more: I say, if They answer thus, let him either acknowledge that His Doctrine of Inward Persuasion deserves the same Censure with Mine; or that Mine no more leads to fuch Consequences, or makes it excuseable in Men to guard themselves against All future Light, than His does. And if before He is aware, He goes on, and cries out again in his Noble Poetic Strain of Rapturous Zeal, * Tell me, O Sincerity, what art Thou! He can, from Himself, return Himself this Answer at least, That Sincerity, or any Private Christian's Inward Persuasion of Errors and Corruptions in a Church, is 'That which

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^{*} Pref. to Mr. St. p. 14.

will excuse Him in his Separation from that ! Church'— even tho' it be in it felf Spotles, and free from every Error, and every Corruption. If so; I cannot indeed expect that His Ingenious Friend should write Another Treatise about Sincerity; and handle this Position of the Dean's about Inward Persuasion with the same Severity and Satyr which He has bestowed upon an Incidental Sentence of mine; the Grammatical Sense of which He has greatly mistaken, and from the Real Meaning of which He cannot suffer Himself to differ one Hair's Breadth. How can I, in Truth, expect Any thing like this from One, who could permit a Preface to be prefix'd before his Book, in which the Dean grossly contradicts and ridicules the Principles of that very Treatise He professes to recommend? But this I may justly expect, that the Genuine and Certain Consequences of this Position may be followed and traced: and then, I may challenge the most zelous Churchman to find any sensible Difference between the Doctrine which the Dean afferts in this little Corner of the Present Book; and the Doctrine which He (the fame Dean) condemns and ridicules in Another Book: Or, to discover any Essential Difference in this Point between the Dean, the Great Advocate for the Committee; and My self, the Object of their Displeasure; unless it be this, that, according to Custom, He feems only in this to plead Their Cause, whilst He either dextrously takes Care, or by his usual Fatality is led, to contradict and give

it up; and that I, uniformly maintain, with the Openness of a Fair Adversary, what I think Truth; not beginning a Sentence with giving up the Rights of All Christians, in order to defend Humane Laws; and ending it with afferting those same Rights again, in other Words.

3. If such a Procedure can be accompany'd with Applause, who would not envy such an Happiness; To be esteem'd the Advocate of Principles, which He gives up; and the Champion of a Cause, in the pretended Defense of which He speaks big, and looks around Him with all the Gaiety of a Conqueror; whilst He really delivers it up into the Hands of the Enemy? Or rather indeed, What considering Man can Envy an Happiness, which can only be built upon the Breath of Those, who either cannot or will not see such Palpable and Flagrant Self-Contradictions?

SECT. IX.

The Dean's Account of the Principles of the Reformation, and of a Spiritual Authority preserved and settled by the Crown and People, farther examined.

• UPON these Principles, *(the Dean goes on) the Reformation here proceeded.

The Crown and the People found it neces-

fary to reject the Papal Power, together with the Corruptions of the Romish Church.

P. 32.

But They (i.e. the Crown and People) found it necessary too, to preserve an Authority in

Church-Matters; and to settle an Ecclesia-

" mation of Religion' Now here,

I. The Crown and the People, (I suppose He means their Representatives) that is, The fecular Power, The Civil Supreme Authority, found it necessary to Preserve a Church-Authority, or to settle an Ecclehastical Government. And fo. We are now return'd once more to a Temporal Original, and a Civil Foundation, for Church-Authority. But what suppose the Crown and People had not thought this necessary? Would this have made any Difference in That, which is so often boasted of, as a Divine Right, Esfential to a Church of Christ; or have affected that Authority, which is so often claim'd as a Gift of Christ, and not of Men; and so often declared to be debased, when it is founded upon the Laws of this World? And if the Ab-Sence of Temporal Laws, and Worldly Power, can make no Difference, as to what Authority belongs to a Christian Church; then, the Presence of them was not at all necessary to the Ends for which the Dean here introduces them.

2. If both Crown and People found it necessary to reject the Corruptions of the Church of Rome, as well as that Papal Power which was grievous to Them; then, I beg Leave to put the Dean in Mind that He has greatly misre-

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presented Them, when He tells Us, They had Sense enough to know that Every Man was not to be left to make the Best of his Bible, without any farther Direction or Restraint.' For this was One of the most pernicious Corruptions, as well as one of the greateft Instruments of All the Tyranny, in the Church of Rome. The Reformation claim'd this Right. The Reformers infifted on it. The Crown and People found it necessary to reject the Corruptions of the Church of Rome. Therefore, they had Sense enough to know that They could not be faid to have rejected the Corruptions of that Church, till they had rejected This, which was the great Mother-Corruption, by which that Church kept a Power in its own Hands of judging who were capable, and who were not capable, of using the Scriptures, which Christ had left open to All. But,

for the better Reformation of Religion? The Civil Power 'thought it necessary (fays the Dean) to preserve an Authority in Church-Matters; and to settle an Ecclesiastical Government, Even for the better Resormation of Religion. Is it, that the Civil Power thought sit to preserve to it self an Authority in Church-Matters? If it be; it is but a small Complement the Dean passes here upon Those of his own Order, when He says, This was thought necessary even for the Better Resormation of Religion. Or, Is it so, that a Civil Settlement of an Ecclesiastical Go-

vernment,

vernment, Was necessary Even for the better Reformation of Religion? I know that many Great and Good Men, at that Time, were fo weak as to think otherwise; and to be apprehensive that one Determinate Settlement of this fort, made at the beginning of a Reformation, might rather prove a Stop to hinder the Reformation of Religion from going farther, than was thought fitting just when it first began; and to include in it that Every thing proper was then thought of; and that None were to pretend to grow wifer in Times to come. But, tho' this Settlement made at the very beginning, has been often faid to have been necessary to prevent farther Disquiets, and to preserve Peace, and the like; yet I believe This is the first Time, it was ever said to be necessary 'even for the better Reformation of Religion.' I would not willingly mistake the Dean: and therefore will not presume to make any more gueffes at a Meaning, which He has chose to hide in Clouds of Obscure and General Words.

I will only be so free as to add, that such Accounts of this Christian Church are not to be bor'n with from Every Pen. And had I been so unhappy, as to have given such an History of Contradictions, and Incompatible Powers, united for the Establishment of our Church; What might I not have expected? But it is enough, If the Title be a Defense of the State-Church; and if the Book it self be season'd with Severity and Satyr against Some out of Favour;

be swallowed; or too Gross not to be applauded.

week or to think otherwife; and to be ap-

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The Dean's Censure of Some Unknown Persons who pleaded for Christian Liberty, at the beginning of the Reformation, consider'd.

SOME indeed, says the Dean, there were, in the early Days of the Reformation, who pleaded for Christian Liberty in such a manner as to leave no room for Christian Discipline. But these (says the Dean) made no great Figure; and were esteem'd then as mere Fanaticks. Here We are now brought back again from Crown and People, to something accompanied with the word Christian: but not without the Lash of a very keen latent Satyr.

I. The Dean does not tell us, Who these Persons were; What Explicit Principles They maintain'd; or Where we may meet with a True and Full Account of them. The View is probably towards some One or Other now alive: and These Unknown Men of somer Days are only brought in, as Men of the same Principles with Some, who are so unhappy as to be much disliked by Many in this Age; and who ought therefore, to be esteem'd Mere Fanaticks, as their Predecessors were. But,

2. After the Dean had been talking, in the Former part of the Paragraph, of an Ecclefia-

fical Government settled by a Civil Power; and of Authority in Church Matters preferved by the State: If after this, I fay, He had represented some, as opposing Christian Liberty to a Discipline of this World, supported and back'd by Temporal Power; it had then been all of a Piece, and might have been believed. But then, it could not have been understood, as an Opposition to Christian Discipline, but a Contention FOR Christian Discipline, against Civil and Temporal. But supposing some to have talk'd wildly and madly upon the Head of Christian Liberty: What is this to those Glorious Principles of Christian Liberty, which are the Birth-Right of Every Christian; which were the Foundation of the Reformation it felf, and of this Church it felf; and are still and will be for ever as true, as important, and as much to be infifted on by All who know the Value of the Christian Religion, as They were, when the Reformation and This Church had occasion for them, in order to get rid of the Usurpations and Tyranny of Others. To defend Christian Liberty, is to defend Christian Discipline; to call for That, and for no other. And when the Question is folely this, What is truly Christian Discipline? It is a Mean Part in a Debate, to suppose the thing in Question; and to represent Those who contend for what They truly account Christian Discipline, contending against it, because They do it not just in the Way, which We like best. One thing I could wish; that the Dean would not put put the Word Christian so close to the Word Discipline, when next He speaks of our Humane Establishment. If the Discipline, belonging to that Ecclesiastical Constitution which was preserved and settled by the Lay-Powers amongst Us, in the Sentence before, be the Christian Discipline mention'd in this Sentence: That Word Christian is, I fear, very ill placed, and will only serve to put every Reader in mind of what Every Friend laments, and Every Enemy triumphs in.

SECT. XI.

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An Examination of the Dean's Severe Censure upon a Principle just now maintain'd by Himfelf, of a Supremacy vested in Every Christian in his own behalf, &c.

THE Dean proceeds, 'Had They' who 'conducted the Reformation set out upon These Prejudices; (for I desire to be excused from calling them Principles;) by this Time, I verily believe, Christianity it self had been lost among Us; and the Supremacy, vested in every Man, in his own behalf, had long since established a Consummate Stupidity and Ignorance.'

1. What the Words, These Prejudices relate to, is very hard to determine; because we have had only One, about Christian Liberty, mention'd with disapprobation; and that, with-

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out telling us what it was. At the End of this same Sentence indeed, there is one likewise mention'd; viz. That of vesting the Supremacy in Every Man, in his own Behalf: but this fo obscurely express'd, that if He had not all along his Eye upon My Doctrine, one could not imagine what this means, or whither it tends. But then again, If I look back no farther than the End of the foregoing Paragraph, I find Another Prejudice, or rather the same express'd in other Words, and maintain'd by the Dean himself; viz. that a Persuasion (Every Private Man's Inward Persuasion) of Errors and Corruptions in this Church of England, excuses his Separation from it. That is, Every Christian has this Christian Liberty, of judging about Church-Communion, for himself: and if He is excused before God in judging Communion with the Church unlawful; I hope, He is likewise excused before Christians, and has nothing justly to fear from Discipline. Or, In other words, There is this Supremacy wested in every Christian, in his own Behalf, that He has a Right to judge for Himself in the Affairs of Conscience, and Eternal Salvation; a Right not to be prejudiced by the Claims of Power and Authority, in any Men upon Earth. For this is in truth the same thing in effect, that the Dean has afferted: because nothing but fuch a Right, superior to all humane Discipline or Authority, can excuse a Man in separating from the Best Church in the World; in which Separation the Dean has allowed Him to be ex-2. This cused.

2. This being fo well agreed between Us; It will be of small Importance in my Account, whether He will call it a Prejudice, or a Principle. It is in Me, I know, a Principle. I feel it constantly within Me. I judge other Doarines, and other Positions, by it. I do not take it up in one Page, and lay it down again in the next: but maintain it uniformly and equally. Nay, I am persuaded, It is a Principle in the Dean too; because it forces it self out every now and then, even where it is least call'd for, and where it does his other Pofitions all the Mischief imaginable: which I therefore take to be Prejudices, all vanishing into Air, at the Presence of what is solid and substantial.

3. This being agreed between Him and Me, in the Sentence before, I may now the better observe to Him, that 'Those who conducted 'the Reformation, not only did set out upon 'these Prejudices,' which He and I have maintain'd; but could set out upon No other. Nor could He himself give an Account, or make any Defense, of their Reformation, without unfortunately dropping a Sentence, in which the Christian Liberty of Every Man's judging for Himself, and determining his own Church-Communion, is afferted; and this Supremacy vested in Every Christian in his own behalf; notwithstanding all the Big words that surround it, of Church-Authority, and Discipline, and the like.

Nor can I possibly think, after his having fo nobly settled this Universal Right, even in

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a Paragraph where Truth only could extort it from Him, that He can be really affrighted at any such Imaginary Consequence, as He has

in this Sentence fix'd upon it. For,

1. How can He, in this Paragraph, think that this Supremacy (as He calls it) vested in every Christian, can possibly have so fatal a Tendency as to destroy Christianity it felf, and establish a Consummate Ignorance; when, in writing the Paragraph immediately going before, He found no fuch Sentiment in his Breast; but established this same Supremacy in every Christian, in his own Behalf, by which He has a Right to judge for Himself, and to be excused in that Judgment? Can a Person so soon see Light, and make New Difcoveries, that, in the Time only of passing his Pen over a few Lines, Conviction shall crowd in upon Him? Or, Is it possible that Changing a Proposition into other Words, should have so wonderful an Effect upon the Writer himself, as to make Him like and applaud it in one Habit; and utterly condemn it when He himself has dress'd it up in Another? This is really more like the peevish Frowardness of Children at play; whose little Likings and Diflikings, Loves and Hatreds, Pleasures and Displeasures, alter by capricious Fits, and begin and end often with the same Minute; than like the Grave Reasonings of a Wise Man, distinguishing between Principles and Prejudices, and professing to establish an important Cause upon the most solid Foundations. may have forgot what He has laid down in other

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ther Books, tho written in the same Cause; and so, for want of Memory, may write Every New Book upon a New Set of Principles, without acknowledging any Change within. But methinks, it is wholly unaccountable for the same Person, to write Two Sentences, which almost touch one another, upon Two Contradictory Systems. Whatever becomes of Other Past Declamations, in other Parts of this Controversy; Let Him blot out, at least, this single Sentence that stands so near, before He defends

and maintains this severe Censure.

2. How can it possibly be thought that This Supremacy (as the Dean calls it) vested in Every Christian, in his own Behalf, can have any Tendency towards establishing a Consummate Stupidity and Ignorance; or towards the destroying Christianity it self from amongst Us? This Supremacy is plainly founded upon the Right which Every Man has, in the Sincerity of his Heart, to judge for Himself, according to what the Dean himself lays down in the Great Affair of Church-Communion. The Exercise of this Right supposes Enquiry, Thoughtfulness, Comparing of Things together; Studying the New Testament; Endeavouring to find out the Will of God, and the Laws of Christ; and all the like Dispositions and Ha-And are these the Methods by which Ignorance and Stupidity ever did, or ever could in Time past, or ever can in Time to come, get ground and plant themselves in the World? Is Enquiry, or Confideration, the Way to StupiStupidity and Ignorance? Or, Is the Christian Religion so little able to stand the Test of All Honest Enquirers, as to be in danger of being lost from among Us, merely by a Right in Every Man to judge of the Truth of it? God forbid! And how such things come to drop from the Pens of Able Men, I cannot account for, but from Hast and Zeal temper'd together.

3. I would entreat the Dean to confider how Christianity it self was planted; and how that True Knowledge, which is opposed to Stupidity and Ignorance in Religious Matters, came first into the World. Did not our Saviour call upon Every Man to Examine his Pretentions; and venture it to Every Man's own Choice, whether He would be a Christian or no? Did not his Apostles first, commend Those, who would not be led by Authority, but search'd the Scriptures, in order to be Christians upon good grounds; and afterwards, exhort Those, who were already Christians, to Try all things themselves? Was not this the Method by which the Truth of the Gospel, and the Knowledge of the Will of God, were first propagated? Were there any Restraints spoken of, to Those of Berea, who made the Best of their Bible; and were highly applauded for it? And can the Same Method, which alone was thought proper to plant Christianity in the World, be the Way to destroy it from among st Men? Was it so good then; and, Can it be pernicious now? Or, was it only a Net to catch the Fish at that time; a Snare to take honest Men with; who were afterwards

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to be guided and governed by other Maxims, and to be told plainly, when We have Civil Power enough to bear Us out, This indeed was Good when We our felves were under Others; This was Good before Ton were under Us : But now, A different Scason requires a different Leffon; and Iou, who could not come to the Knowledge of the Truth but bythis Supremacy, or this Right of Judging for your selves, must now know that this same Right will lead vou headlong out of Christianity, into the Kingdom of Utter Darkness and Stupidity.

4. At the Time of the Reformation, the Chri-Itian World was funk universally; Clergy as well as Laity, into a Consummate Stupidity and Ignorance, not only as to what is call'd Literature, but as to what is True Christianity. I beg it may be confider d, first, by what Methods this miserable State of Things was brought to fuch a Pitch: And then, by what Methods it was in to great measure cured by the Reformation. The Answer is in one word this, That the Caufe, which was feen Naturally to effect those Evils, was the very contrary to what the Dean here would lay Them upon. It was folely the taking away this Right of Judging, from Christians; this Supremacy, which Christ vefted in Every Christian, in his own behalf: and lodging this Supremacy in One Man, or in a Council of Men, over Others. This made All Enquiries useless and dangerous. Terrors and Restraints were added: and neither Clergy nor Laity were allowed to make the Best of their

their Bible. From hence came in necessarily A Neglect of a Matter so Hazardous and Ruinous, as Study and Consideration; and from hence by Degrees, an Inundation of Stupidity and Ignorance. How indeed, could it be otherwise? when, take away this Right, or enact Penalties upon the Exercise of it; and then the Direct Road to Preferment, as well as to Quiet, must be by a Prosound Submission, a Consummate Stupidity, and a Resolute Ignorance: or else, by a Binding all these upon Others, as the Perfections of a Christian, the Parents of All Devo-

tion, and of All Good.

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But when the Evil of all this came to be not only feen, but felt, to an intolerable degree; How was it cured? Not by preaching up the Right of Some to judge for Others in Religion; Not by pronouncing the Necessity of Restraints in the Case of the Use of the Scriptures; Not by destroying the Supremacy wested in Every Christian in his own behalf : But by calling upon ALL equally to Search the Scriptures; by teaching them, as the Dean sometimes does, that their own Persuasions would justify their Choice of Church-Communion, which They had a Right to determine for Themselves; that Christ had call'd them to this True Christian Liberty, and had vested in Every one of his Followers this Supremacy, which resulted from their Right to follow their own Consciences in Religion; and which it was their Duty to exercise. was This, and This alone, which let the Beams of Divine Light into that Infernal Prison of K 2 Dark-

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Darkness, Stupidity, and Ignorance; which had enfeebled the Eye-fight, and enslaved the Hearts, of Mankind fo long. It was This which revived Christianity, as it were, from the Dead, by fending All to the Fountain and Original: And it was This alone, which planted and increased True Knowledge, and Freedom; instead of the Blackness of Darkness, and the Chains of Slavery. If any Methods have been fince made use of, contrary to these Maxims, and inconsistent with these Foundations; any Restraints laid upon this Christian Liberty; any Discouragements to the Freedom of Enquiry, and Judgment of Christians; I am forry for it. There is just so much given back to the Cause of Ignorance, and all its Consequences: which must of Necessity gain Life, and recover Strength, just in proportion to the Discouraging Universal Enquiry, and the Private Judgment of Christians, in order to determine their own Conduct in Religion.

By All this the Dean may see that it is so far from being true, that Establishing such a Supremacy as I have been speaking of, in Every Christian, to judge, in his own behalf, by a Right superior to all Humane Authority, tends to the Loss of Christianity from among Us; or to the Establishment of a Consummate Stupidity and Ignorance; that the very Contrary is the Truth: viz. That Christianity was lost from amongst Us by the Restraint and Denial of this Supremacy; and was restored to Us again by the Claim of This alone: That a Consummate Stupidity was established in Clergy and Laity, solely

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folely by robbing Every Private Christian of this Supremacy, and vesting it in One, or More Superiors; and was at length broken into, and exchanged for the Light and Liberty of the Gospel, by nothing but Re-vesting Every Christian with his own Right, in his own Behalf: as the Dean himself has help'd to do, in many Declarations, and particularly in That which I have here already so often mention'd. Nor can He, or Any one of Good Sense, forbear to do this, whenever there is occasion. For,

5. There is no Medium in this Case. Either this Supremacy (the Dean will pardon Me for making Use of a Word of his own, which, I confess, pleases Me in this Cause) must be lodg'd in Every Private Christian, in his own Behalf; or it must be lodg'd in fome Christians OVER others, in the Behalf of Others. Christian Liberty must be entrusted with Christians, for Themselves; so that They themselves must bear their own Burthen, and answer to God for the Use of What He has granted them Or else, The Christian Liberty of Christians must be lodg'd in the Hands of Superiers, to dispense, curtail, abridge or enlarge, just as their Measure of Light and Judgment, and too often as their Interest or Inclination, Humour or Passion, form their Resolutions. It is the Liberty, which refolves it felf at last into the Right of Every One to judge for himself in Religion; and to conduct his Practice by That Judgment: the Right which the Dean has given to Every Chri-Stian to form his own Persuasion, even about the

the Circumstances of Government, Worship, &c. in the Church of England it self; and to be guided by that Persuasion. Either Christians have this Right, Every Man in Himfelf, by the Principles of Reason, and the Nature of True Religion, and of the Gofpel in particular: Or, They have it not. If They have ir; it differs in this from their Civil Rights, that They Themselves cannot rightfully give up the Exercise of it. In Civil Affairs, They can give up the Exercise of their Rights, by chufing, appointing, or confenting to, an Arbitrator, Judge, or Governour, finally to determine their Civil Controversies between Man and Man. But in the Case of Religion, Supposing Them once vested with The Right before-mentioned, It is not in their Power to give it up : Because, resulting from the Nature of True Religion, which Requires Choice, and Will, in every particular Man's own Conduct; No one can give it up, without destroying the Foundation of All that can be call'd Religion in Men. But if Every private Christian has not this Right vested in Him; by what Methods came Superiors to have it? They could not come to be possess'd of it, by the Concession of it from their Inferiors: because Inferiors are here supposed never to have had any fuch Right, to give up into the Hands of Others. And as for any Express Declaration of the Will of God in this Case; The bardiest Protestant has never yet declared, Uniformly and in express Words, for a Divine Right, (a Right indeed requiring the KnowKnowledge, and Infallibility, and Authority of God himself) dodged in any Superiors to judge in Religion for Themselves, and Others too indo as to preclude Those others from finally being determined to conduct Themselves according to their own Inward Persunsian. Anids bluow and

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Whoever declares this, whether He knows it of no, declares Himfelf No Protestant I I do not say, A Papist; because there may be serveral such as These, who intend nothing less than Popery; or Foreign Usurpation, which would unhappily put out Their Eyes, as They put que the Eyes of Others; and exercise that Supremocy of Judging for Them, which They think Intollerable, even whilst They desire themselves to exercise it over Others.

And farther, Wheever think to balve this Right with their Inferiors; to take it away in part, and leave it in part; do but deceive Themselves with vain Words. It's, in the Nature and Reason of the thing, an Indivisible Point, which no Humane Art can possibly make otherwise. And Experience has thewn, and will ever thew, That it must either be left Whole sor in due Time taken away Whole. There is No Middle way between these. The Dean himself has in effect own'd this For tho He thinks there is not a more proper Subject for Authority to exercise it self upon, than the settling a National Church, with all the Circumstances of Government, Order, and Decency in it; And tho' He affures Us that our Lay-Powers were so wife, and so skill'd in the Real State of the Primi-K 4 tive tive Church, that They form'd this National Church upon the very Platform of Primitive Christianity; and tho' He declares upon this, that the People of England were BOUND to Communion with this Church: Yet, for fear, one would think, that any one should conclude that He was pleading for any more Authority than I have pleaded for; or any stricter Obligation to Church-Communion than I have laid down; Tet, I fay, He immediately adds, So BOUND, I mean, that nothing but a Persuasion of Errors and Corruptions in the Church could excuse a Separation from it. Here we see that the Authority in Governours to add Restraints, cannot be maintain'd longer than thro' one Sentence; that the Supremacy of this Private Persuasion in Every Christian is his only Final Restraint in these Matters; and His own Right to Judge is declared by the Dean, even in those very Cases in which He declares Authority to have a Right to restrain Him. And let Him try it a Thousand times over, when He has more leifure upon his Hands: and I will venture to fay, if He will speak plainly upon the Right of Protestants and Christians; even after All the Governments of the Earth be supposed to agree in one Church, and that a very Good One; that He will in some place or other drop a Salvo for the People, and effectually vest in Every Man, in his own Behalf, a Supremacy above all the Authority and Restraints of All Humane Governments, or Humane Determinations.

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This indeed, was plainly feen by the Governours of the Romish Church; and This was the very Reason which determined Them to act a bold Part, and expressly to take away this Private Supremacy, in the Whole. Rome was not built in a Day. The Spiritual Wickedness, which now reigns in her High-places, was the Work of Time; and arriv'd at the present Pitch by flow Steps. The People were led on gradually to their own Ruine. It was first try'd what would be the Effect of denying them their Right of Judging for themselves, in some Affairs relating to Religion, whilst it was allowed them in others. The Use of the Scriptures was long left to Them; and Every Man left to make the Best of his Bible, with the Addition of Useful Restraints and Directions. But this would not do the Work effectually. If a Right were allowed in part; it was a shrewd Suspicion that it ought to have been allow'd in the Whole. If the People might justly judge for themselves in one Point; it was a Thousand to One but this would make them apt to do it, whenever They should see fit, in others. And therefore, This Right was expresfly, wholly, and openly deny'd to Them : and for fear They should ever think of claiming their own Supremacy, in their own Behalf, for their own private Conduct; it was translated into other Hands, where it remain'd guarded with the Thunders and Lightnings of this World.

And thus it will be, whenever the same Beginnings are made. There is a Gradation in all this, every where, and at all Times, equals ly; because Humane Nature is every where the fame. Every Inflance in which This Right is deny d, is a Step towards a Total Supidery and Negligence: and implies in it; by Reason and Confequence, a Denial of it in All Instances; tho it be not, in All, immediately put in Piel chice. The very using Men to hear that it is their Duty to yield to other Men in the Conduct of their Religious Concerns, even thout be contradicted in the fame Semence, is of dangerous Consequences It tends to create a Calloufnefs, where there ought to be the Quiekeft Senfation; and and Indefference, where there ought to be the Warmest Zeako And when once the Christian People can come to bearepatiently and calmly to hear their Right of Judging for Themselves ridiculed; their Christiand Laberty explained into the Power and Authority of Others over Them; and the Supremacy in Religious Affairs, which is indeed velted in Every Man, in his own Behalf, velled in a Few only for the Use of others: They will too probably be led on, Step by Step, to think this field very Indifferent Matter till at length This Indifference will turn into a Zeal for their own Rune, which will incite and force Them either to make a formal Surrender of what They have no Right to give up; or to call upon their Superiors to take That into Their Power, which They find Themselves to be unworthy of. They who

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who are the first in dropping fuch Principles, out of a real or pretended Fear of Evil Confequences from the contrary, (which They have no Authority or Call to prevent by any fuch Methods;) and for want of confidering the much more faral Consequences of these Principles; (which required a Reformation to cure them;) They, I fay, may not fee, in their own Days, the Extremity of that "III-Use which naturally is made of them by Mankind. But when the Bad Seed is once plentifully and zeloully fown; the Crop will answer roo probably to it, in Time: And the Next Ages may fee that Evil brought to its Height, which was innocently and uncautiously begun in this. Thus it was in the Ages before the Reformation: and thus it will be once more, if That, which was the first Foundation of Antichristian Usarpation, be again laid deep in the Minds of Men. There will be Workmen enough to employ Themselves in fuch a Building, in which They themselves are to live and rule securely: and Materials will never be wanting, agreeable to fuch a Foundation. But they who begin, in the smallest Degree, to lay such a Foundation, ought the rather to confider whether their Guilt will not be aggravated by having Teen, in a very remarkable and terrible Instance, the Fatal and Insupportable Confequences of fuch Beginnings. But enough.

I am forry I have had Occasion to say so much. But I sincerely think it My Duty to take every Occasion to remind Christians of what

what alone makes Them truly Christians; to engage Them to love and value Their own Real Privileges; and not to be jested or frighted, out of that Supremacy which God has vested in Every Man, in his own Behalf; which even the profess'd Adversaries of it cannot help acknowledging; and which is so far from leading to the Destruction of Christianity, or to the Establishment of a Consummate Stupidity and Ignorance, (the first Time, I believe, This was ever laid to its Charge;) that I will presume to fay, True Christianity cannot be even suppos'd without it; and I'm fure Experience fays that neither Literature, nor Religious Knowledge, ever flourish'd, or remain'd, even in their Shadows, after this was once discarded. And thus, I think, We are come to an End of the Dean's Excellent and Christian Account of the Grounds upon which our Establish'd Church was founded.

SECT. XII.

Observations upon the Dean's short History of the Church of England from K. Edward VI. to K. Charles II.

THE Dean goes on to give Us an History of what happen'd fince this Church was first establish'd: Which, He says, has enjoy'd but little Peace, from its first Establishment. As,

1. There was a Controversy about Vestments, &c. so early as the Days of K Edward. VI.' Thus
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We see immediately, upon the first Dawnings of the Reformation, that Protestants thought there was a Supremacy vested in Them to judge for Themselves, about their own Religious Conduct.

2. But 'in Q. Mary's Time, (the Dean proceeds) this Church was destroy'd, &c. If any one asks, How and by what Methods This came about; I can fafely answer that it came about by fuch Methods, as are justify'd by the Dean's Account of our own Establish'd Church; and therefore that This alone may shew the most zelous Churchmen that the Maxims He has laid down are fuch as are so far from being the True lasting Supports of this Church it self, that They are indeed Destructive of it, and pernicious to its Cause. For the Case was indeed this, almost in the Dean's own Language, in his own Account of our Church. ' A Popish The Crown Queen came to have the Power. and the People found it necessary to recall the Papal Power, together with the Doctrines of the Church of Rome. They found it necessary to preserve an Effectual Authority, and to resettle an Ecclefiastical Government. They who had the Government in their Hands saw that Religion could not be preserv'd without some settled Order and Discipline, back'd by Humane Power. They rightly judg'd that the Use of the Scriptures could be claim'd for None, but such as were CAPA-BLE of using them: of which No Men themselves ought to be Judges. They had Sense enough to know, that to leave every Man to make the

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the Best of his Bible, without any farther Direction or Restraint, would naturally tend to Confusion; and fill the Kingdom with all the Wild Conceits that Ignorance and Enthuhalm could produce. Witnels the Conceits against Vestments, and other Necessary Ceremonies, in the former short Reign, as foon as ever this faral Claim of Every Man's Right to the Use of the Scriptures had but barely shewn its Head. - They considered farther, that it was the Will of Christ that there Should be a Visible Church; and that All were obliged to Visible Communion: and for These Reaions, They restored the Old National Church; and again Establish d it by Law. They look d upon the Protestant Glaim of Christian Liberty, as merely Fanatical; and effeem'd the Supremacy, which Protestantism, necessarily, supposed to be vested in every Man, in his own Behalf, to be the Road to the Loss of All Religion, as well as to the Establishment of Stupidity and Ignorance. They revested this Supremacy in Superiors over Inferiors: And this being again the Establish d Church; that is, in other Words, the Ecclehastical Constitution of the Realm; They wisely and justly guarded it against Those Protestants, Episcopal as well as Others, who had actually ruined it once before. They kept All such out of Civil Offices, the Right being lodg'd in Them to regulate and restrain the Capacity of Civil Subjects for Civil Offices. They justly and rightfully did this, as Every Government has a Right to exclude from Places of Power and Trust, Such as shall render Themselves justly suspected of Disaffection

affection to the Public. And this not being sufficient for the Preservation of the Established Government of thefe Realme, which They had a Right to defend, and t which was always under-Good to include Matter's Eccle fiastical as well as Civil; They perfecuted some to the Loss of Life; whilft others were forced to fly out of their Dative Coluntry, and to make a large o: Let the Dean, and all Protestants, consider whether fuch Topics would not have fitted the Mouths of the Legislators in Q. Mary's Days, betterothan the Months of Protestants: and let Him in particular consider what can be answer'd upon bis own Principles; who has really furnish'd out (without deligning fo to do) a fronger i Argument for the Proceedings of that Reign against Protestants, than ever was before made use of For, as it was always easy to answer Those who would avow Persecutimimerely for the Sake of Religious Differences; Now the Topic may be entirely chang'd, according to the Dear, in the following manner. 'All Governments have a Right to defend Themselves against Those who are disassed to the Public. Here was an Established Government; which always amongst Us takes in Matters Ecdehastical as well as Civil. From the Time of this Esta--blishment, this becomes an Essential Part of the Public. The Dissenters, as All Protestants -were then, had once before ruin'd this Public; pull'd down this Establishment; and openly a-

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vow'd the Right of Men to the Use of the Scriptures, the Parent of All Public Consusion. What remain'd therefore, but a Right in the Governours to exclude all such from Offices of Power and Trust; and for the Security of the Public, to punish and crush the Enemies of the Public? The Dean has laid down These as the General Principles of his Desense of our Church and State-Realm. He himself extends them to All Governments. And I am sorry to say it, that I can find out No Argument, upon this Foundation, against the Justice of the Marian Proceedings against the Protestants. For, if these General Principles are just and true; The then Government had a Right to make use of them.

But I rather hope, when it is feen that the Destruction of this very Church of England may be defended from these Principles; and that it follows unavoidably from Them that the Government then in Being did Not mistake their Right, but exercis'd a True Undoubted Right, when They excluded All Protestants from Places of Trust and Power, as Disaffected to the Government, which always includes the Church; and all this by the happy Expedient of changing the Names of Things, and turning the Whole into a Government-Cause: I say, when this is so plainly feen, I cannot but hope that All Persons of Sense will disdain an Argument which only seems to help their own Cause; Or, if it does really do it, It is only by Chance, and for the present Moment; but which is in

in Truth of fatal Consequence to the Church it self, upon all other Occasions, and even justifies that Destruction of it which is here lamented. 'Thus Affairs stood (says the Dean) in Q. Mary's Days.' And how He could imagine or expect them to have stood otherwise, I cannot think. I am sure if the Argumentative Part of his Book had been writ in those Days, It might have been justly Entitled, A Vindication of the Right of the present Established Government to destroy the Late Church of England, falsly so call'd, &c.' Let us now proceed in the Dean's History.

3. 'These (that is, The Notions brought hack by Those Pratestants who sted from

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' back by Those Protestants who fled from ' Home in Q. Mary's Days) were ONE great Oc-' casion of the Disturbances in Q. Elizabeth's ' Reign. To what Height were they carry'd, and how they affected the Peace of Those 'Times'— For this he refers to Mr. Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift. He goes on to tell Us, that 'Under the Management (a Word, which looks as if the Dean himself were con-' scious how this came to pass!) of James I. the ' Disaffection to the Established Church grew strong; and that in the Days of K. Charles I. ' it prevailed, (that is, the Disaffection to the ' Established Church prevaild) as well against the Crown as the Mitre.' All this is in order to shew the Necessity of such Acts, as the Test Act, and Occasional Act, to exclude All who dissent from the Established Church, from Offices of Power and Trust in the Nation. Now,

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Let any Christian set himself down to the reading of the Rife, Progress, and Issue of All this Unhappy Part of our History; and let Him weigh all Circumstances impartially within his own Breast: and then let him judge whether this very Hiftory, from the Days of Q. Elizabeth, will not it felf furnish a strong Argument for the very contrary to what the Dean is going to infer from it. For, if He finds that it is an History of the Effects of the Passions of Men, set on fire by Hardships and Exclusions; made outrageous merely for want of an Universal Mutual Forbearance; carry'd to their Height by Oppressions and Difficulties for the fake of Differences in Religion: He will judge between the Dean's Argument drawn from hence; and what I would infer. His Argument's 'There has been a long Difaffection to the Church; and this Disaffection has heretofore broke out into Violences, and at last prevail'd against both the Crown, and the Mitre. Therefore, It is just and wife now, to exclude All from Civil Offices, who diffent from the Church.' My Argument is this. 'All this Difaffection was continually heighten'd by the Hardships and Pressures put upon Those who at all disapprov'd of any thing in the Established Church, even tho' Constant Conformists to it. Their suffering in their Civil Rights, upon Religious Accounts, was the Inflaming Confideration; and what gave Fire to their Passions, which at last produced such Effects. The contrary therefore, would have the Contrary Effect. Let all Hard-

Hardships, and all Oppressions, little and great, cease. Let there be No Civil Punishment, or Civil Suffering, or Civil Inconvenience, (call it, as the Dean pleases,) on the Account of what is the Dictate of Mens private Consciences, unless it immediately affect the Civil Government: and I cannot but think, there would be an End of the Keenness of the Disaffection it felf, and of all the Passionate Effects of it.' At least, there is this Probability for it. The former Method has been try'd, and has been so far from diminishing it, that it has been feen to blow it up into Violence and Force; and even to excuse this Violence by the same Pretense of Self-defense against Those, who had practis'd Severities against their Fellow-Subjects upon that same Foundation. The latter has never yet been try'd wholly and effectually. The Degree, in which it has been try'd, has been seen to have mollify'd, and not sharpen'd, that Disaffection throughout the Nation: and the greater the Degree is, the greater in Proportion will the Effect be. And if, of late, Any Keenness has again taken Place, it has been plainly owing to the Two New Laws, which added New Hardships, and, as by constant Consequence, renew'd the Bitterness, and sharpen'd the Spirits, of Those who were so treated.

This therefore, is in the first Place to be consider'd, that to cure an Evil, you must go to the Original Cause of it. If the Deplorable Mischiefs which the Dean unwillingly touches up-

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on, have either in Part, or in Whole, proceded from Disaffection to the Church; and this Disaffection to the Church has been ever increafed and inflamed into Violence, by any fort of Oppression, or Difficulties, or Inconveniences, laid upon Those who differ'd from it: Then, the True Cure for these Evils, is to prevent them by acting a contrary Part, and trying That which never yet has had, in any part of the World, so fatal Effects. To go on in the old Way of continuing Grievances, or Burthens, is only to pave the Way to the same Evils whenever Time and Opportunity shall offer; and this, as certainly, as that the same Humane Nature will be work'd upon in the same manner, by the same Methods; or as certainly, as that the fame Causes, all Things concurring, will ever produce the fame Effects.

SECT. XIII.

The Dean's Main Argument from Past Facts in Defense of our Exclusive Acts, &c. stated, and consider'd.

T is not my Design to enter into any long Debate with the Dean, about the Truth of this Historical Part of his Work: which yet I shall touch upon, as I pass. What I think of greatest Importance is, to shew that the Main Argument He draws from these Fasts is wholly Unconclusive; and wholly Unworthy of the Cause of any truly Christian Church. But in the

the midst of this, I shall not be able to forbear taking Notice of some of his lesser Arguments; some of his Peculiarities and Self-Contradictions, mix'd in this part of the Debate.

His Main Argument, from these past Facts, in Favour of the Test Act, as guarded by the

Occasional Act, must stand thus.

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In K. Charles the First's Days, Those who then diffented from the Church of England, having got Power and Opportunity, prevailed against the Crown; overturn'd the Civil Constitution; Established their own Church; and, as much as in Them lay, abolished the Government, Discipline and Worship of the Church which was, before this, the Established Church; the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Realm; which is always supposed to be Part of the Government. 'Therefore, it was Just and Wise, after the Restoration, to Exclude by Law, All from Places of Power and Trust, who differed at that Time from the Established Church of England. 'Therefore likewise, (which I beg of the Reader particularly to observe, as it is the whole Design of the Dean's Book, tho' very much neglected and very little labour'd by Him,) it is Just and Right still to continue to Exclude All Nonconformists at present, about Sixty Years after that Time, from All Capacity of holding Offices: to which Capacity They have an Undoubted Right, were it not for fuch a Law of Exclusion; or were it not for their Nonconformity.

This is a very material Point: and therefore, I shall put what I have to say into such a Form, and such a Light, that it may presently appear to every Reader of Common Sense, whether it be Conclusive or not.

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SECT. XIV.

Argument the First, against the Dean's Way of Reasoning.

Arg. THAT Way of reasoning which would have made it wise and reasonable to have excluded Multitudes of Constant Consormists, as well as Nonconformists, from all Offices of Power and Trust, cannot be Just.

But the Dean's Way of reasoning, which puts the Cause upon what had pass'd in the Years preceding the Restoration, will equally

hold for the One, as for the Other.

And therefore, is not Just.'

All the World will presently see what I mean. The Remonstrances against the Crown and the Mitre both, and The Civil War it self, were begun, and carry'd on by Churchmen; by Constant Churchmen; by a Parliament sull of Churchmen. This was the Grand Original, and Occasion of those Evils which came afterwards; tho unexpected and undesigned by Those who first began. But what I argue is this: That, if it be good reasoning to infer from Past Proceedings that the Followers of such and such Persons, in some of their Main Principles, may justly be excluded from Offices of Power and Trust; it will

will follow from hence that it had been just in K. Charles II. and his Administration, to have excluded from Offices of Power and Trust, All Persons who would not solemnly renounce and detest Those first Proceedings in Defense of Liberty and Property; and the Principles of Those First Patriots, who actually began a War with the Crown, which was the Inlet to All the Calamities and Evils which the Dean mentions. I beg of Him to take Notice that I do not fay that, by his Way of arguing, These Men were as bad, or intended as much Evil, as Others brought on, who fucceeded Them in the Civil Power: but That His Way of Reasoning would have comprehended Them, as well as the Others, in his Excluding Acts; and the rather, because He chuses to found it upon Principles, which are truly the Principles of Civil Government only; which will carry it farther in Civil Disaffection than He can ever make it bear, in Matters merely Ecclefiastical. And then indeed, The Miscarriages and Evils of Former Times might justly, if his Reasoning be just, have serv'd for an Argument of a Legal Confinement of All Offices, only to the Highest Churchmen, and to the Highest Advocates and Supporters of Absolute Nonresistance: because None besides These did strenuously and constantly shew an Affection for that Administration and Management both in Church and State, which gave Birth to the Uneafiness and Jealousies of the Subject, in K. Charles the First's Days. Again, This may may put us in mind of Another Argument.

SECT. XV.

Argument the Second, against the Dean's Way of Reasoning.

Arg. 2. 'T HAT Way of Reasoning cannot be just, which concludes and argues for a Remedy, which has no relation to the Evils which are complained of.

But the Dean's reasoning is of this fort: And,

'Therefore, cannot be Just.'

I say, It is of this fort. For the Argument is this, That it is Right and Wife to exclude Nonconformists now from all Offices of Power and Trust, because Some who did not like the Church of England, in former Days, were guilty of Great Iniquity; and abolished the Establishment of that Church, when They had Power in their Hands. Now this, I say, is a Remedy, of No relation to the Disease; because All Those Evils were not the Effects of any fuch Former Law, by which Nonconformists were capable of Offices; and therefore, the making any fuch Exclusive Law, fince that Time, cannot be justified by Those Evils. Power which any Nonconformists then arriv'd at, was not the Effect of any Law in being, or the Consequence of their being capable of holding Offices under King Charles I. But the State of that Matter was thus, That Multitudes of the Churchmen themselves were allarm'd not only at the the Crown, but at the Mitre. They had great Jealousies and Suspicions of Evil Designs: They demanded a Redress of Many Grievances: and, at length made open War with the Crown. The Nature of Humane Affairs is always such, in All Quarrels of so public a Nature, that Evils follow thick upon one another. This Rupture increasing and growing wider by degrees, made way for Any, who could, to seize the Power: And They have the Civil Power, in such Cases, who can get and maintain the strongest and most successful

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Now, this being the State of the Case, that not fo much as the Beginning, or the least Degree of these Evils, proceeded from any Legal Capacity of Nonconformists for Offices under King Charles I. but rather from the Hardships put upon These, as well as upon many Churchmen themselves, in their Religious Rights as well as Civil; it cannot possibly be made an Argument, that Nonconformists ought now to be excluded from all Offices of Power and Trust. For it must, upon this bottom, stand thus. Nonconformists, making Use of the Rupture between a Parliament of Church-men and the King, at length prevail'd both against the Crown and the Mitre; and carried things to All Extremities both against the King and the Church, by virtue of a Powerful Army. Therefore, It is fit and just to exclude them All by a Law from All Capacity of ferving their King and Country hereafter, in any Offices of Power and Truit.

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Trust. Whereas, if the Argument from Past Evils were good; it ought to stand thus. The Nonconformists, by means of being legally capable of Offices of Power and Truft, under King Charles I. destroy'd Him, and ruin'd the Church of England. Therefore, the proper Re-medy is, to exclude Them All by a Law, from all fuch Capacity for the future. But there can be No such Argument as this, justly framed For those Evils were not caused, either in whole or in part, by any such Capacity. And therefore, the Remedy proposed is not of any relation to it: nor do Those Evils at all point out such a Remedy. I confess, I should rather argue thus. Those Evils were begun by Partiality and Oppression. And therefore, the True, Lasting, Effectual, Remedy would be, for the Government to abolish All Partiality as to Civil Rights, and All Hardship, where ever there is equal Affection to the Civil Government, properly so call'd.

But perhaps, The Argument is to be framed thus, That Some Nonconformists, having obtain'd the Supreme Power, and having then encouraged and established their own Church, to the abolishing of the former Establishment, and of the Church of England; it was reasonable to exclude Them All from the Capacity of all Inserior Offices of Power and Trust, for sear that Capacity should be the Means of getting Possessing Possessing that This Argument Does not at all arise from the Evils of former Times; because

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The Nonconformists came not to the Supreme Power, by having the Capacity of Inferior Offices; but by Dexterity and Farce, making use of the Opportunity of the Distractions of those Times. And therefore, tho it may appear from what is past, That They would give most Encouragement to the Way They themselves like best; nay, granting that it may appear from hence that They would abolish the Public Worship now Established, supposing Them to be possess'd of the Supreme Power: yet, I fay, It cannot appear from any thing past, that the Mere Capacity of holding Inferior Offices, Civil and Military, under the Crown, does so certainly or probably tend to their Possession of the Supreme Power, as to justify the Excluding Them from a Civil Right, Common to them with all other Faithful Subjects of the Civil Power.

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But if the Possibility or Distant Probability of this, can justify such an Exclusion; I can tell the Dean a much surer and equally Justifiable Way of preventing all this supposed Mischief. And that is, at one Stroke to exclude the Whole Body of them from all Capacity of voting for Members of Parliament; and to bind Them Hand and Foot, once for all. The Dean can assure Them, This is no Persecution; nor so much as any Punishment. It is only putting a Man with an Infectious Distemper out of Doors; but it is not Beating him. It does not affect their Lives and Fortunes: for He will after this allow Them to live and breath, and exercise

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exercise their Trades; at least, till A Probability of Danger can be supposed from this Allowance also. It will be an easy matter to fee that Probability afar off, whenever Men have a mind to see it: and then, the Dean's Principles are ready at hand to justify the taking away this also. For All probable Danger (fays He) may rightfully be guarded against. And this Secular Maxim He applies to our Church or Ecclefiastical Constitution, by virtue of its being taken as Part of the Government, in his Language. All Civil Rights may be taken away for the Safety of the Government. Now, of this Government the Church was always accounted a Part. And therefore, the Probability of Danger to That, (which does not use to be accounted of a Civil Nature,) is a sufficient Reason for taking away any Right, merely Civil and Political. But one piece of Advice I will add, that whenever fuch Hardships are enacted, a very Strict and Constant Uninterrupted Severity must be used. If it be not; it will be found that, if ever there should come an Opportunity again, (which the Uncertainty of Humane Affairs proves not to be impossible,) These Civil Hardships laid upon Men for fear of Danger to the Church, will be the very Causes of its Ruine; and work much more powerfully and outrageously towards it, (just as They did once before,) than Any other Principle can do upon the other Supposition, viz. that by some wonderful Concurrence of Circumstances, Any Nonconformists bi-Al-

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mists should in Time to come obtain the Supreme Power by the Candour and Justice of being allowed the Constant Enjoyment of their Civil Rights: which yet I look upon to be a Supposition next to impossible. In the former Case there will be the Keenness and Incitement of Revenge and Rancour, added to their good Opinion of their own Way; and the plausible Pretense, furnish'd by the Dean and their Adversaries, that Self-defense in Religious Matters is to be exercised with the same Right as it is in Civil Affairs: And so Provocation and Ruine must take their turns for ever. But in the Latter Case, there will be No such Rancour, no fuch Revenge, to inflame their Passions, or actuate their Zeal: but the contrary Spirit to foften and regulate their Proceedings. The One Method has been tried: and what I fay has been found to be true. The Other has never yet been tried in any long uniform Course: and therefore, what I say of it ought not to be accounted false. But to return,

The Dean very dextrously and judiciously often forgets to mention the Test Act, and lays his Stress upon the Corporation Act. He declares this Act to have been 'No more than what the Gentlemen of the Church of Eng- land had found by Wosul Experience to be 'necessary to Their Preservation.' He demands, 'In the Name of All that ever was 'call'd Christian Charity, what less could be 'done

done?'* And He calls 'Heaven and Earth to judge of the Equity of the Proceedings †: And tells Us, † That this was made Necessary by the Evil Spirits still working, notwithstanding the Clemency of the Crown after the Restoration: sometimes drawing his Arguments, even from Preambles of Acts of Parliament, the nature of which Every one knows; and sometimes * speaking of the Corporation Act, as the Desense of that Religion which the Nation received as delivered by Christ, from Force and Violence. As there never was, I believe, such a Mixture of Materials in any Debate, as We find here in a few Pages: the following Argument will be very proper.

SECT. XVI.

Argument the Third, against the Dean's Way of Reasoning: With a Fresh Instance of Self-Contradiction, in his short Account of Facts.

Arg. 3. 'THAT way of Reasoning which is founded upon a False State of the Fact, and accompanied with Contradictory and Inconsistent Topics, cannot be Just.

But the Dean's Way of reasoning here, is

furrounded with these Circumstances.

'Therefore, It cannot be Just.

* P. 35: † P. 37. ‡ P. 36.

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As to the State of the Case; Many Things are here said which are not True: and Many

omitted which are True.

1. The Dean constantly hides from his Reader, what the Justice of an Historian (for such He here is) cannot deny even to Those whom He exceedingly diflikes and disapproves : viz. That King Charles II. was actually restored to his Kingdom by the help at least of one great Party of Diffenters from our Church. Several Ministers of one Persuasion waited on Him; with whom He declared Himself entirely satisfied, as to their peaceable Dispositions. The Army, without which He could not have been restored, was of the same Persuasion. It was well known, and thoroughly perceived, that Episcopacy and the Public Worship of the Church of England, were of Necessity to be (as to the main Branches of them) restored with Him. Nor was Any Reluctance to This in general express'd: but a great deal of Joy and Satisfaction in the Whole Affair. This, I fay, should have been once remember'd by One who enters with so much Reluctance upon the Bad fide of those Affairs: And it should have been remember'd as some small Amends, at least; some Mark of Dislike of what had pass'd; some Token of No Disaffection to the King, or his Government. These Particulars were so remarkable whilst the Impression was fresh, that the Lord Chancellour Clarendon, in a Speech to the Parliament, Sept. 13. 1660. in the King's Presence, described the Army then to be disbanded to be little less

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less than Invincible; and 'an Army whose Order and Discipline, whose Sobriety and Manners, whose Courage and Success had made it famous and terrible over the World; in order to shew the King's Sense of his Obligation to it. And as to Others also, the same Noble Lord, at the Meeting of the Following Parliament, in his Speech to the House of Lords, call'd upon them to 'consider how much They owed to Those who, with all the Faculties of their Souls, contributed to, and contrived the Blessed Change, and then how much They owed to Those who ' gave no Opposition to the Virtuous Activity of Others; And God knows (Jays He) a ' little Opposition might have done much Harm.' &c. In this Strain were Matters spoken of, (till New Views produced New Language,) even openly and by Authority. And therefore the Dean, amidst All his Historical Notices, need not have been ashamed or afraid to have done Justice, Common Justice, to Those upon whom He was now going to put Hardship enough; and to bind it upon them with all the Strength of that Noble Topic of Self-defense.

When All this, together with the Promises folemnly made at that Time, shall be considered; Every one will see that, if something else besides Self Preservation had not been meant, such As could not so soon have been thought of. Nor was it long in that Reign, before the Most serious Churchmen, as well as Others,

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Others, saw very plainly that the Disuniting of Protestants from one another, and the strengthening the contrary Interest, and the bringing in New Measures, or rather the Madness, of Loyalty, by Extravagant Addresses from the Corporations of England, were Ends more certainly in the View of Some at that Time, than the Preservation of the Gentlemen of the Church of England, (as the Dean puts it,) who were then, in no Danger, as I know of, but from Themselves. This Account of the Fact, from whatever Root these Proceedings fprung, should not have been omitted: and then, an Argument of another fort would have offer'd it self, to this Effect. Since it is certain that One fort of Nonconformists bore a great Part in restoring the King; and Multitudes of Dissenters express'd an Entire Acquieftence in it; and fince the King himself openly profess'd Great Satisfaction in Them, and made Promises not to forget this: It follows from hence either that the Evil Spirits, mention'd in the Preamble of the Act before Us, were not the Nonconformists, as such; or else That this Preamble, (as it is with many others,) does not give Us the True Reasons of the Bill; and therefore cannot be alledg'd as any certain Proof of the Necessity of it. And,

2. That which makes Me the rather think thus, is, that the Dean has not at all scrupled remarkably to contradict Himself in his short Account of this Matter: not being able even in own Thoughts to continue consistent with

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Himself, in affigning the Ground of this Act. In p. 35. He gives us a glorious Account of the State of Things after the Restoration, in an almost Romantic Strain. 'The Cruelties, (Jays He) the Oppressions, and Devastations of many Years were all bury'd in Silence and Oblivion: Private Resentments and Private Injuries were given up to the Public Good; the Rich Sequestrator and the harrass'd Gentleman lived like Neighbours and Friends; and the Prophefy feem'd fulfill'd, that the Lion and the Lambs should play together.' Neither the Dean, nor I, lived in those happy Haleyon Days. And therefore, We must have our Accounts either from Living or Dead Authors, of Good Credit and Authority. For my felf, I confess, I have been us'd to hear much of the Madness, Rage, and almost Distra-Stion of Men, upon the Restoration, in their Resentments against All who did not come up to their own Heights of Loyalty and Church Communion: but never yet hear'd of this Lamb-like Difposition; This tender-hearted Forgiveness; This sweet and Harmonious Spirit, universally spread over the Land. Nor can I, till the Dean informs Me better, imagine any otherwife, than That this Account is no where to be found but in the same Historian, in whom He formerly found that Curious, Never-heard-of Piece of Noah's Speech to his Three Sons. Upon this Occasion, I cannot help making one Remark farther: That there is fuch a Ten-

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Gravitation in some Writers towards Inconsistency, that They will rather unnecessarily Coin a piece of History, and Embellish it with all the Flowers They can strew upon it, than avoid any fair Opportunity of Self-Contradiction. Of Self-Contradiction, I fay: For, after All these fine Words of Peace and Quiet on all Sides; after the fulfilling of that glorious Prophecy that the Lion should lose his fierce Nature, and come down to the Quiet and Peacefulness of a Lamb; and this reported by our Historian to be fo, at the very Time of making the Corporation Act: if we do but turn over one Leaf, We shall find the Lion turned back again into a Lion, at this very same Point of Time; and this very Act made, because there was No Peace and Quiet; because the Lion would not play with the Lamb; and because the very Reverse to that famous Prophecy was true, tho' it feem'd happi-'The General ly fulfilled in the Page before. Pardon was so far (says He) from producing the defired Effect, that it is declared by ' the Legislature, as the Ground of the Corporation Act, That notwithstanding All his Majefty's Endeavours, and Unparallel d Indulgence-Many EVIL SPIRITS are Still working.' And again, * He speaks of the 'Restless Spirit of fome among Us, which the Mercy and Good-'Nature of the Nation could not subdue,' as the Ground of this AA. And who should

these EVIL SPIRITS be, that are merition'd in the Att; and who, These Some of fuch a Restless Spirit, as He describes; but Those very Sequestrators who, in p. 35, thved like Neighbours and Friends with Those around them; Those very Lions who are declared there to have lost their Fierceness, and to have become Play-Fellows with those Lambs, the Royalifts, who breath'd nothing but Christian Charity and Forgiveness? The Act of Oblivion, in this Page, is faid to have had fo good an Effect as to have bury'd in Silence all that was past; and to have produced such Quiet and Harmony, as never before nor fince was heard of: and in the next Page, the same Act was so far from producing any Good Effect, that the Legislature was forced to have Recourse to the Corporation Act. After having thus stated the Matter, He declares in a high Tone, 'This, ' I fay, was the Case.' And then, in a Poetical Rapture, calls upon Heaven and Earth to judge of the Equity of the Proceedings. And He may indeed call upon Heaven and Earth for ever: For neither Heaven nor Earth can ever judge his Cause, till He has fix'd what He means by those Words, This was the Cafe. What This? Is it This, in Page 35, or This, in p. 36, and 37? Because the Answer must differ, according to the Truth of the One or the Other of these Accounts. If the Former alone be what He will stand to, that All was quiet, and Glorious Prophefies were fulfilled; then Heaven and Earth will judge that there could be no Equity

Equity in making a Law, which could not but revive those Animastries, and set on fire those Resentments, which were now happily extinguish'd, and exchang'd for Peace and Quiet on But if the latter Account alone all Hands. be what He will maintain; He must prove the Point in Debate, and shew that this Restlessness, or Uneafinefs, or perhaps Difference in Religious Matters, was a Just Ground for a Deprivation of a whole Body of Men from Civil Rights; and even of Those Men, who had but just now been declared by the King himself to have merited greatly at his Hands. And because the Dean always has recourse in this Argument, to what had been in the Times of the Utmost Confusion and Disorder; I must refer likewise the Reader to what I have already faid to his Main Argument, as well as to what I have farther. to fay. In the mean while, till the Dean gives one Uniform, Confistent, Account of what He makes the Ground of the Att, and till He fixes upon that one, and discards the other: Neither Heaven nor Earth can Judge any otherwise of his State of the Cafe, but as of something which destroys it self by Irreconcileable Contradiction ons; and as an Instance, amongst Many others, of the Uncertain Grounds upon which a Bad Caufe stands; as well as a Proof that it is the Glory of Truth only to be Uniform and Self-Confistent.

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SECT. XVII.

Observations upon the Dean's Changing his Language, and declaring the Corporation-Act to be a Desense of the Religion delivered by Christ himself.

BUT I must not forget that there is Another Turn given to this Cause, in this same Pas-Sage *; and in my Opinion, a very extraordinary one; and something indeed as surprizing as any Passage in the whole Book. Hitherto the Corporation-Act was represented, in modest Terms, as a Defense, sometimes of the Government; sometimes of the Church, under the Notion of Part of this Government; that is, the Ecclefiastical Constitution of this Earthly Kingdom; and as fuch, model'd and fram'd by Men very lately, tho' containing Many Branches of Great Usefulness and Antiquity. But on a fudden, the Words are changed from Temporal to Spiritual; from Earthly to Heavenly; from the Constitution of a Realm, to the Religion of The Corporation-Act is now Christ himself. declared to be No less than the 'Defense of that Religion, which the Nation receiv'd as deliver'd by Christ, from Force and Violence'; and to have been design'd for the 'Suppression of the Many Kinds of Injustice practis'd up"

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on this People.' And I am ask'd, Whether

this be Irreligious?

To the latter of these, I will answer first, That these Instances of Injustice were entirely and effectually suppress'd before the Corporation-Act was made. The Power was dislodg'd from Those who possess'd it before the Restoration. The Government, He tells Us himself, was return d to its Natural Channel. And therefore, to represent the Corporation Act as design'd, or as Necessary, for the Suppression of that Injustice, which was already suppress'd; is to reprefent Our Legislators in a very mean Light; and to go on in the usual Track of Inconsistency and Contradiction. Was it possible for any Nonconformists, only by remaining Capable of holding Inferior Offices under the King; bound and confined by the Laws then in force; to exercise any of those kinds of Injustice, which the Dean will not enumerate, for fear of their Harsh Were not these all swallow'd up, and Sound? abolish'd, before this Act was thought of? Or does this Act at all contribute to the Suppression of those kinds of Injustice which were practis'd before the Restoration, but which of Necessity ceas'd with it? Nay, does not his own History, in the Page before, inform Him that the very Memory of these was almost lost in Universal Good Nature, Humanity, Lamb-like Meekness, and Christian Charity, which came in with King Charles II. and His Followers, and tamed even the fierceness of Lions themselves? Methinks, tho' the Dean be the First and only Historian M 4 that that ever let the World into this Secret, of the Triumphs of Christian Charity, and Peaceful Neighbourhood, in that Season of Outrageous Joy and Libertinism: yet He should not be the First to forget his own Discoveries; nor so soon contradict his own Utopian Account of these Matters. But He seems to think, He cannot give too many Reasons for so useful an Act: and therefore, No great wonder that They vary and differ so frequently.

But I return to that Exquisite Representation of It, as a 'Defense of that Religion, which the Nation received as deliver'd by Christ, from Force and Violence.' And here I must

observe,

1. That He should have ask'd Himself, What need of this, when in the Sentence a little before, He had declared All Force and Violence to have been swallowed up in Harmony and Love?

2. That Any One may again ask, What need of this Act to this purpose, when All Power was already taken out of Those Hands, who are described as using Force and Violence? No Fear then, of Force and Violence from an Inferior and very small Body of Men. Nor did Force and Violence, as I have before observed, proceed from Their being Capable of holding Civil Inferior Offices, under the Supreme Legislative and Executive Power. And therefore, this Act was No Desense against That Force and Violence which the Dean here intends. But,

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3. What I would chiefly observe, is, That the Nation never was, I hope, fo weak and fo regardless of the Gospel, as to receive the Ecclefiastical Constitution of this Realm, as the Religion deliver'd by Christ. It is the Former, which is design'd to be defended by such Acts of Parliament; as the Dean himself has often told Us. But indeed what He here means by the Nation is very uncertain. If He means truly the Nation, or the Whole of the People, He knows there is a Part of it, which is far, from taking this Constitution to be the Religion deliver'd by Christ; and perhaps some weak enough to believe Another Constitution, diametrically opposite to it, to be Part of Christ's Religion. If He speaks here, according to the Prejudices of Many, and the False Judgment they make of things, His Argument will ferve equally for the Popish Constitution, and the Kirk of Scotland; and justify All in the making Exclusive Acts, who think and judge. falfly their own Constitution to be Christ's Religion: as we shall see more plainly by and by. If He means that This is truly judg'd fo to be: I would beg to know by Whom? For,

4. All True, Consistent, Protestants receive the New Testament Only as containing the Religion deliver'd by Christ. This is the Religion of Christians, consider'd as such: and This alone is their Resuge, and the Avowed Standard of All their Notions, amidst their several and Contradictory Systems. The Dean will hardly say That the Corporation-Act was

so necessary, that without it Christians were not allowed to have recourse to their Bible; or to fearch for the Will of Christ in the New Testament. Nor can He be supposed to be much concern'd on this Account: when before, He has made the Establishment it felf, and All such Acts of Parliament as this, to be necessary Remedies against the Great Evils arising from every Man being left to make the Best of his Bible. He told Us then, of the Great Necessity of Humane Restraints to be added to that Right of fearching after the Religion deliver'd by Christ: and now, He tells Us of defending that Religion from Force and Violence. which I can understand nothing, but either That He almost constantly forgets, in one Page, the very main Arguments He builds upon, in Another; or else, That He argues that We must lay Restraints, which is but another Expression for using some Degrees of Force and Violence, for fear Others should do it. We must do that which We exceedingly blame in Others; for fear They should, one time or other, come to have the Power of doing it: not confidering that this very Usage is the Road, and Provocation, to their doing it as foon as They can; and that it is a Disgrace, and not an Honour, which We may well leave to Others, without being fond of imitating them. But,

5. Another thing to be consider'd by All Christians is, that the Religion delivered by Christ can be justly supported only by Christ's Methods. All the Laws and Acts of Parlia-

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ment in the World can only support an Outward Profession of something, which, as far as it is receiv'd from Men, and practis'd as the Will of Men, or the Law of Men, is so far different from the Religion of Christ. They may keep up an Humane Constitution: and either allure Men by Temporal Rewards to adhere to the Outward Form of it; or terrify Men by Temporal Inconveniences from departing from it; or indispose Men by both, from examining at all, what it is for their Ease and their Interest to . take as it is offer'd to them. But the Religion deliver'd by Christ, as such, is not concern'd in such Laws. It subsisted, the Sincere Profession of it subsisted, not only without, but often against, Humane Laws; which is a Demonstration that whatever it is that Such Laws are necessary to preserve; it is Not the Religion deliver'd by Christ: nor ought the People to be fo imposed upon, as to be made to believe this. And indeed, as I conceive that the Dean is the First Writer, amongst All the most zelous Defenders of our Constitution, who has ever declared Corporation and Test Acts to be necessary for the Preservation of the Religion deliver'd by Christ, from Force and Violence: so, when a Writer, of his Name and Authority, fo openly fays this, Let Him represent Me as He pleases to his Reader; let Him paint Me out as the Worst Enemy the Church of England ever had; I will not fear to contradict Him as openly in I know better what a True Affection to the

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the Church of England in its present Condition imports, than to make it confift in thinking it given down immediately from Heaven. pure and blameless, without Spot or Wrinkle: and I know better, I hope, My Duty to God and to Christ, than to prostitute the Honour of the Gospel to That of any Humane Constitution in the World. And if the Dean has thought fo long upon this Subject, as at length to put the Ecclefiaffical Constitution of this Realm, and the Religion deliver'd by Christ, for Synonymous Terms, or Expressions of the same Import; I will leave to Him this Glory; and content My felf with the Reproach of thinking the Religion delivered by Christ to be Something very different from All Constitutions of Realms; Something which All Christians in Common ought to appeal to, and to be determin'd by, amidst all their several Schemes and Systems; Something of quite Another nature than what can be supported by their several Acts and Statutes, and Laws, framed, in the different Countries of this World, according to their feveral Notions, in favour of Contradictory. Constitutions; and Something which is best preserved, and most effectually, according to the Will of Christ, by Methods agreeable to the Spirit of the Gospel it felf.

If therefore, it be required of Me, to answer to the Dean's pathetic Question, In the Name of All that ever was call'd Christian Charity, what LESS could be done, than the passing this Corporation Act I will answer,

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In the Name of ALL that was ever call'd Heathen Justice, Let all Punishments, or Sufferings, or whatever fofter Name He will give them, follow the Nature of Men's Crimes. If these Persons, to be guarded against, were, at the Time of making such Acts, Enemies to the Lawful Civil Government of the Nation; I am fo far from thinking that LESS could have been expected, that I would my felf have contended for MORE, against Any Men, who openly avowed any Principles against the Civil Rights of their Country; or who were guilty of Any Overt-Acts against it. But as this Pathetic Question is founded solely upon Differences about Churches and Ways of Worship; I confess, I cannot see, and therefore cannot acknowledge, that the fame Methods were Reasonable, Christian, or Fitting, in this Case, which would have been so, in the Other. And in this Opinion I shall be the more confirmed, whilft I fee that the Dean himfelf was determined, and found a Necessity so to be, first to make the Church the State, before He could openly and plainly adapt Civil Principles to Religious Matters. This Complement to a Christian Church I never yet paid; and I believe never shall be able to pay ir: and therefore, cannot follow Him in the Consequences, which are entirely built upon This, and upon Nothing else.

And as this Question of the Dean's respects only the Corporation Act; I will observe here that the Cause of the Test Act is not at all

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help'd by it. For, if the Gentlemen of the Church of England (as the Dean fays) thought themselves under a Necessity to make the Former, in their own Defense against Protestant Nonconformists; this will not at all justify the pressing the Continuance of the Latter against Them, which was entirely design'd and fram'd for the Support of the Common Protestant Interest against Papists. From the View and End of it, an Argument of Another Tendency may be rather framed.

SECT. XVIII.

More Arguments against the Dean's Way of Reasoning.

HE Dean having spoken so much of the Public, of the Community, of Disaffection to the Government, and the like; it puts Me in mind of an Argument which will, I think, shew the Unconclusiveness of this Way of Reafoning, with regard to his present View; viz. the Continuance of the Corporation and Test Alls, (which He often confounds in his Conclusion;) for which Continuance He argues zelously from the Premisses, He has laid down. The Argument I mean will be founded upon the following Suppositions, 1. That there had been a Pretender to the Crown, against K. Ch. the Second. 2. That quickly after the Reftoration, there had been an Attempt made in Favour of this Pretender. 3. That the whole Body

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Body of Protestant Dissenters had, for about Thirty Years before, given all possible Demonstrations of their Zeal for the King's Right, and the Succession in his Family. 4. That, at the Time of fuch an Attempt, They had, to a Man, kept firm to his Interest, without so much as the Suspicion of any the least Leaning towards his Enemies who aim'd at his Crown. 5. That the great Body of his Enemies concurring in this Attempt, had been unfortunately made up of Protestants of Another Sort, joining with Papists. 6. That at such a Juncture, during the Conflict, and after the Attempt had been dissipated, a Parliament of True Britons had been fitting, full of Zeal for their King and Country. I would take the Liberty to ask, in plain Terms, and In the Name of All that ever was call'd Political Justice or Wisdom, Whether, upon these Suppositions, it is roffible to imagine that the Corporation Act, or ny AEt like it, could have been made at that Time, in order to have excluded Those from Places of Power and Trust, merely upon Account of Religious Differences, who had not only demonstrated Themselves to have been No Enemies, but the Warmest and most Zelous Friends to that Civil Government, just then restored. I leave it to the most Negligent Observer of Late Affairs, to make the Application. But the Argument that refults from hence, I shall just mention.

Arg. 4. The same Reasons which (supposing them to have subsisted at that Time) would would have made a True British Parliament to have abhorr'd the Thoughts of Any such Exclusive Acts, are of equal Force against the Continuance of any such, supposing These Reasons to subsist now.

But These Reasons would undoubtedly and justly have prevented All Thoughts of such

Acts at that Time.

Therefore, supposing Them to subsist now, They as undoubtedly ought to lead to a Resolution of Not continuing them. And again,

Arg. 5. That Way of Reasoning which would conclude for the Continuance of such Acts, from a State of the Case, which (supposing it to have been Then the State, at the Time of making them, yet,) is the direct contrary to the Present State of it; cannot be Just.

But the Dean's Way of Reasoning, as far as it is founded upon Evil Spirits, and Disaffection to the Government, and the former Misdemeanors, and Violence's against the Civil Constitution of the Land, is of this sort, even supposing his Account to be True. And

Therefore, it cannot be Just.

I may add here that, as far as Former Difaffection to the Civil Government is concern'd, and the Prevailing against the Crown, mention'd by the Dean; an Argument may justly be formed upon this, against the Continuance of such Acts, even supposing Them to have been made at first upon a Good Ground. For,

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Arg. 6. If Disaffection to the Civil Constitution, testified by Former Actions, were a Just Ground for the making such Exclusive Acts; then certainly the Truest Affection to the present Civil Constitution, testified by a Behaviour of Thirty Years, and particularly in all Critical Times of Danger, is the Justest Reason in the World for the putting an End to such Acts.

But that Former Disaffection here supposed, was, in the Dean's Account, a Just Ground of the One.

Therefore, He cannot but account the Prefent Affection, as Just a Ground of the Other.

Nay, what is worte to his Caufe, It will much sooner furnish an Argument for making such Acts against some Protestants, in whose Cause He writes, than for continuing Them upon Those of Another fort. For, If He will argue that, because Those who were, a great while ago, most active against the Then King, were most of them Diffenters from the Church of England; Therefore, it is reasonable and just to exclude now from Offices of Power and Trust, All present Dissenters from the Church: If, I fay, He is resolved to argue from this Topic, He must be content to have it turn'd upon Him more strongly, That, because Most of Those who have lately maintain'd openly the Principles of Disaffection, and even been guilty of Overt-Acts of Rebellion, happen to be Churchmen, whilst others have remained True Subjects; Therefore, it is just and reasonable

the exclude All of the Former fort from Offices, the not personally concern'd in the Guilt; and to confine the Service of their King and Country to the Others only. God forbid that I should use such an Argument! which I despise for its weakness, and detest for its Injustice. No. I only speak of it, in order to shew the Unconclusiveness of the Dean's Argument, in this manner; and the very bad Influence of it upon the most zealous Churchmen themselves.

Arg. 7. That way of Reasoning which would now exclude Churckmen themselves; and so injure greatly the Cause of the Church of England it selt; cannot be just in the Account of Any

True Friend to it.

Nonconformists for the take of what Some only, and that formerly, have been guilty of, manifestly and unavoidably tends to this. And

I must observe again, before I proceed, that the Test-Act, (which is the main Point,) is entirely and unkindly forgot by the Dean in all such Arguments as These, drawn from what was transacted in sormer days, by Protestant Nonconformists. For this Act was not made in consideration of Past Evils from Them; or with the least view to Them; but with regard to the Fatal Evils of Popery. But as the Dean has almost every where mix'd them into one Lump, and concluded in savour of them both, from Premisses relating only to One of them; so, He has dealt in much the same manner with

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State and Church Principles: first blending together Things as distant from one another as Heaven and Earth; and then, from This Combination of different Notions, framing the oddest and most Unaccountable Composition of Arguments that I can remember ever to have seen in any Writer protessing to defend the Cause of this Christian Church.

SECT. XIX.

The Dean's Account of the Reasonableness of Continuing such Exclusive Acts, in the present State of the Nation, examined.

THE Dean was a little aware that the Question might be ask'd, Upon what Grounds the Continuance of such Exclusive Acts can be justly put; even supposing Them to have been well-grounded upon the state of Affairs, at the Time of their being made? And therefore, He could not avoid saying something to This, which was the main Design of his writing: Tho' he has done it very hastily, and as if He were not at all fond of the Subject. He states the Difficulty his own way; and then, no wonder if He thinks the slightest Answer sufficient.

"However justifiable, † (says He) this "might be upon the Close of the Troubles,

"and whilst things CONTINUED to be in Agitation; [Did ever Writer thus deal with

[†] Page 37.

his Reader! To talk here of Things continuing in Agitation, when in a Page or two before He had affured Him that, at this same Time, nothing but Peace and Harmony reign'd between the Lion and the Lamb; that there was No Agitation; but that the Government was in its old Channel, and all in Quiet!] "Yet (fays He)" perhaps it will be said That Now The Case is altered; the Disaffection to the Church is abated; and we have nothing to fear from Dissenters, tho Places of Power and Trust in the Government should be lodg'd in their hands".

Before we come to confider the Dean's Anfwers to this difficulty, it will be neither ufeless nor unpleasant to observe how carefully the State and the Civil Government are forgot; how all the Past behaviour, sometimes insisted on, which prevail'd against the Crown, which Destroy'd our Antient Form of Civil Government, is drop'd and overlook'd; and the whole here put upon Disaffection to the Church. The Reason of this is plain; because to have mention'd these, would have put All Men in mind of fuch arguments as I have been now using; and have led every Reader to observe that Where the greatest Affection to the Civil Government and our prefent happy Settlement, has been proved by a Behaviour of multitudes of years, There a Capacity of Civil Offices, and the Enjoyment of All Civil Rights, in common with other Good Subjects, follow in the nature of Things, too plainly to admit of any Reply. What therefore u-

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fore I have, in the former Section, put Him in mind of, is, not that the Disaffection to the Church is abated, (which yet is manifestly true, as to the violence of it, fince the Toleration;) but that the Affection to our Civil Constitution, for these thirty years, has greatly increased; that All True and Zealous Subjects ought to be in a Capacity of serving that Civil Government, for which They are zealous. So that the True Difficulty to the Dean, in the present State of the Case, is This, if he has really a mind to answer; viz. "Whether those Civil Subjects to our Government, who have for " fo many years and upon fo many occasions, " shewn their Real Affection to it against All " its Enemies; have not a Right to the Civil " Advantages, or Civil Posts, under this Go-" vernment: Or, whether such Civil Subjects " ought to be debarr'd of this Right for the " fake of Differences merely Religious". This is a Question which manifestly arises from the present state of things: but to which the Dean fays nothing, but by making Disaffection to the Church to stand in the place of Disaffection to the State. Let us now just see how He anfwers his own Difficulty.

Moderation, and Universal Toleration, and the like; He answers * what has indeed been found to be too true on all hands, "That it is

^{*} Page 37.

" one thing to fay, how we would use power, " if we had it; and Another to know how to "Use it when we have it". To this I take leave to add what He urges to this same pretended difficulty, some pages afterwards; † which will be enough to shew any one what a formidable Adversary He is; and how Every one must be contented to be represented who opposes Him. For there He appeals to his Reader, and bids Him "ask Himself the Rea-" son, why He should GIVE UP an Establishment, to ACCEPT a Toleration, (fup-" posing the Dissenters to be now Friends to " Toleration;) and why Toleration is not as " good when 'tis granted to Dissenters, as "when 'tis humbly receiv'd at their hands": And calls upon Him to "consider, Whether " He may not be as fure of shutting out Per-" fecution, by keeping it in his own Power to " give a free Toleration to those who differ from Him, as by putting it in the power of " others to make Him the like Grant". which, what it has to do in the present Que-Aion, I verily believe will never be explained. For,

Reason for bringing this into the Debate, but this single supposition, That if These Men, or any Body of them, were possess'd of the Sovereign power of Legislation, it is to be seared

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They would not be better than their Predecessors were, who denied all Toleration to Churchmen; fo This is nothing to our purpose: unless it can be demonstrated that the Allowing them the Legal Capacity or Possibility of being imploy'd in Civil Offices, under a Civil Constitution with the foundation of which They are entirely fatisfied, will naturally lead Them not only to attempt but to obtain the Supreme Power; or will naturally dispose Them to use Others ill, when They have it. I have already shewn that They came not, in times Past, to the Supreme Power of Legislation, by any fuch Step as this; and that their Hardness upon others arose not from Any Good Usage They had formerly receiv'd from those Others. And therefore, the Dean's Continual Repetition of what has pass'd heretofore is nothing to the present Cause, because it is nothing to either of these Points; unless it be to disprove them both. But,

2. It is evident that, in order to their attempting to possess Themselves of Supreme Power, there must be a Thorough-Union, or Coalition of All their several Parts, into One Body; which it is impossible, in the nature of things, to conceive: Or else, that there must be some One, or Two Parts, of them, whose Attempt the Rest shall resolve not only to acquiesce in, but to support and assist. Now, this likewise is impossible to conceive, because They do as truly differ from one another, as They do from the Church; and because, if N 4

Former Proceedings, join'd to Their being fond of their own Principles, be a Proof, (as the Dean argues, p. 39.) that No Toleration can be expected from Them in Supreme Power; then it is impossible that Some Parties of them should consent to, or help forward, the Supreme Power of Others; or exchange willingly the Toleration They have under the Church, for an Uncertainty, or rather, according to the Dean's Argument, Highest Improbability, of having One under Others. How Unaccountable therefore, is it for Him, under this head, to dwell upon Past Proceedings? when every Instance He gives is, according to Himfelf, a Certain Proof that none of the leffer Parties of the Diffenters can possibly join in an attempt to change their Present Condition, by endeavouring to help Others amongst Themselves to the possession of Sovereign Power. fay Of Sovereign Power: For indeed, This is the only Point; because Nothing but This can put it in any Dissenters Power either to grant a Toleration, or to refuse it to Others. Now,

3. In order to obtain this, They must not only agree in the Party in which to centre, but They must increase, to a prodigious Degree, beyond what was ever known in the World upon any like occasion. For, if They do it by Farce, They must enter into an open Civil Rebellion; which is an unconceivable Supposition, unless you suppose not only the Highest Provocations and Injuries, but also such an Immense

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menfe Body of their own Persuasion, as cannot be supposed, without a miraculous Increase, beyond the Dean's Calculation of their Numbers. And if They are to do this Great thing by gentle Steps, and never fo flow Degrees, and without any Change of the Constitution; They must have an House of Commons, an House of Lords, and a Prince upon the Throne, all concurring. And now, As to fo Vast and almost Unconceiveable a Work as this; I defire even the Dean's most partial Reader to ask himself, Of What Strong Tendency to the attempting this, and of what Great Efficacy to the obtaining it, can the Mere Capacity of Inferior Offices be; which is all that is contended for, in the present Debate? For this Capacity does not so much as imply in it that Actual Possession or Exercise even of any one Inferior Office, which must depend upon the Choice either of Prince or People. And, supposing some Dissenters actually possessing Inferior Offices; They must exercise them, not only under the Supreme Executive Power, but under the Laws in force. And what This has to do, towards the obtaining the Supreme Power, All may fee.

4. Since This Mere Capacity of Inferior Offices is the only Point in debate; how Indefensible is it in the Dean, to turn the Thoughts of the Reader to quite another Matter; and, without any Connexion that might lead to This directly and plainly, to talk to Him, as if I had been contending for giving up the present Establishment, for Another; as if I had been

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answering for the Principles and Tempers of All Dissenters; and moving the Nation to put Them into Possession of the Supreme Power, that We might have the honour of bumbly receiving a Toleration at their hands: or, as if the whole Contention were, That They ought to have Supreme Power, and to be address'd to, for the Common Rights of Mankind. else can any one imagine, who reads the Pages I have just cited? When, in truth, I neither have, nor will, answer for the Principles or Tempers, of Bodies of Men on any fide. I hope indeed that the Tempers of Men on all hands, are in some degree, mellowed by Time; and foften'd by Experience of Mutual Wrongs arifing all from the same Source. And as I think the ferious Professions of All, whether Uppermost or Undermost, ought to be regarded, as long as they steadily act according to them: fo, I wish and long to see every where the Avow'd Principles and Happy Spirit of a still more Extensive Charity, Moderation, Toleration, and Christian Liberty; and particularly amongst All, who stand in need of it from But God knows, I have defended, Not the Rights of any Particular Body of Men; but the Common Rights of Mankind: in which the Church of England Man is equally concern'd with the Dissenter, as Times, Places, and Circumstances do and may differ; that I have done this upon Those Argumens which are equally good and conclusive at all Seasons, and in all Countries; and have opposed Those Pretenses tenses which have ruined this very Church heretofore; which have been and are still Equally Enemies to This, as to Others; and which carry with them an Universal Unfriend-liness to All: a Truth, which is always easily seen, when it is felt! in the Time of Distress, or Inferiority. To proceed to Other Points alledg'd by the Dean with relation to his own

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2. It is easy to answer to His Objections against the Professions of Diffenters for Toleration, taken from the Possibility of their explaining it away; to his Arguments taken from their not having disclaimed the Old Solemn League and Covenant of their Predecessors; and the like. As to the latter of these; As I do not remember that any of their Best Writers have defended the Oath it felf: So, I think, the Dean might have let the Reader know that feveral of the Greatest of their Forefathers refused to take that Oath, holding it for Themselves to be Unlawful so to do; and that the Hardship complain'd of, was that they apprehended Themselves, after the Restoration, by a too rigid Interpretation, to be required not only to condemn the Opinion of all Others who differ'd from them, but to declare that No Obligation lay upon Others, &c. He might have feen, if He had been willing, that Every Man who professes the Principles of an Extensive Toleration, does by That effectually disclaim the wicked Foundation upon which all fuch Oaths and Leagues of Force and Violence

are built. But,

2. If it be enough to fay, That Men, now professing Toleration, may explain away this Toleration, one time or other; this is indeed an Unanswerable Argument: and will shew, not only of Them, but of All others, that it is Out of the Power of Any Persons living to prove that They differ from their Predecessors in any point; that They have changed their Principles for the better; or that They at all believe what Themselves profess. Besides that all this still goes upon the Supposition of their obtaining the Supreme Power of Legislation: which I have shewn already to be a Supposition

entirely foreign to the present Case.

3. What the Dean has quoted here, out of Mr. Pierce, &c. tends indeed to inflame Mens Hearts in the Cause; but not to enlighten their Understandings. It belongs to Others to demand Justice in this Case. They have done it, by shewing the most Gross Misunderstanding, or Misrepresentation of their Words, that was almost ever seen. But they are Moving Words: and the Passage in the Dean's Book is too lively and considerable to be parted with. It takes up too many Pages, and its Absence would make a Great Void in the Argument: And therefore, Let it still stand in all the Editions of the Book, without any Public Notice, much less Alteration, of the Mistake. But Good and Reasonable Christians will blush for Those, who thus refuse to do unto Others what They would that

Others should do unto Them.

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4. " The Dissenters (fays the Dean) are still fond of their own Principles and Opi-And therefore, when Power shall be in their hands, will fet up Those Principles and Opinions, as They did before. They fay, They contend for nothing but the Execution of Christ's Laws. And therefore, (fays He)" + with-" out the Spirit of Prophecy it is easily fore-" feen, that, if ever They have rule, their little " Finger will be thicker than the Loins of the " Church: &c. All this again depends entirely upon the Chimara of Supreme Power of King, Lords and Commons, in Their hands: and therefore, falls to the Ground with it. But what can one fay to fuch Arguments, as bear hard upon the Church itself, as well as upon Those, whom it's Great Advocate strikes at? For, Are not Churchmen likewise fond of their own Principles and Opinions? And do not They think and maintain, that, in contending for their own Scheme, They are contending only for the Execution of the Laws of Christ? And do these Two Considerations naturally, or forcibly, put Them upon using Methods contrary to Christian Principles? Does their Opinion of the Holiness of their own Scheme; of their having their Powers by Regular Succesfion from Christ and his Apostles, put Them

[†] Page 39, 42.

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upon Unboly Methods; or the Consideration of receiving their Commission from Christ, force Them upon Unchristian Means, which He to. tally disapproves? If not, How is it that such Considerations as These can work these dread. ful effects so certainly upon Some, which They are seen not to do upon Others? And since Dr. Sherlock's Fondness for his own Opinions; and Churchmens Zeal for the Holiness and Divine Original of their own Scheme; are feen to be perfectly confistent with the Allowance of Toleration to others: How can These very Things be brought, by a Person who feels the contrary in Himself, for Proofs of Consequences and Dire Events, which He knows, do not belong to them, by knowing that a Man may think Himself in the Best and only Right way, without destroying All who are not in the fame?

fo low, as to introduce the Kirk of Scotland Protesting against Toleration. For, what is the meaning of this? Will this prove that Others who, He owns, have protested for it, have not protested for it? Or, Will this prove that All who happen to agree with the Kirk in Any one thing, must of necessity not mean as They speak; and really agree with It in All things, even in what They declare Themselves utterly to detest? I argue here, upon the Dean's Representation of the Case, supposing it to be true. And if it be so, I will mention to the Dean another point: and that is, That

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if the Kirk, as He says, declares against Toleration; it must much more declare for excluding out of Offices of Power and Trust Perfons differing from the Established Kirk, or, in His own Phrase, Persons disaffected to the Ecclefiastical Constitution of that Part of the Realm: and That fuch a Declaration is justified by the Dean's own Principles. Of this I shall speak more, presently. But at present, I obferve That, If agreeing with the Kirk in some Points be an Argument of a future Agreement with It, in All; then, the Dean's Agreement with it, in that Main Point of Confinement of Civil Offices, is a much greater Argument that He will by degrees agree with it in Non-Toleration of Dissenters, which too naturally cleaves to the Other; than the Agreement of Others with It in Matters of a quite different nature, can be, That They will do fo.

But I have said too much upon Points which, one would think, were introduced by the Dean to remove the Thoughts of the Reader from the True Cause, by leading Him to think that the Question is, How a fort of Men will use the Supreme Power, when They have it; Whether They will allow their Brethren so much as a Toleration, or not; and the like Speculative Points, not to be determined without the Spirit of Prophecy. Whereas, All the while that we are amused in this manner, the Real Debate is about the Common Rights of Mankind; and whether These Rights can be forseited by Good Civil Subjects, merely upon

the Account of Differences in Religion: And the Truth is, That their Capacity of holding Inferior Offices (which is the sole Point before Us) is so far from being affected by the Case of their Predecessors Possession of the Supreme Power long ago, or by the Past Behaviour of Those Predecessors, that no Argument can possibly be drawn from hence, for refusing to Them, what They have otherwise an allowed Right to.

SECT. XX.

Some Other Important Arguments against the Dean's Way of Reasoning.

WHAT I have now been faying, puts Me in mind of some very Important Arguments, worthy, I think, of the Consideration of All who have a serious Regard to the Design and Genius of the Gospel; to the General Cause of the Reformation; or, to the True and lasting Interest of the Church of England it self.

Arg. 8. That way of Reasoning which is not taken from the Main Maxims, and from the Plain and Evident Genius of the Gospel; but seems to rest upon Topics of a contrary and opposite Nature; ought at least to be suspected by Christians; and not to be made the Argument of a Certain and Consident Assurance in a Case, at best doubtful upon the forementioned Account.

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But the Dean's way of Reasoning, taken entirely from the Considerations of this World, and applied to the Cause of a Christian Church, is taken from Points of a very different sort from the Maxims and Whole Genius of the Gospel. And

Therefore, ought justly to be suspected by Christians; and not made the Ground of any Positive Assurance; or of any Hardships upon Mankind, in a Matter, at least, doubtful.

The Case is plainly this; That the utmost the Dean himself can contend for, is, That the Gospel does not forbid such Proceedings; or does not forbid us to make use of the Principles and Methods of Civil Self-Defense in the Case of Outward Profession of Religion, or of Christian Churches. To which it is sufficient to answer, Supposing there is not any Express Command, in this Case, yet That the Nature, Defign, and Whole Genius of the Gospel goes all along upon Another, and a very different Scheme from This; that the Precepts of it have all at least a Tendency Another way; and that the Motives of it, as to the Profession of Religion and the Worship of God, are all of Another fort; and of a Nature as opposite, This, I argue, should as Heaven is to Earth. at least make Christians not forward to found a Confident Assurance in such Points, upon Reaionings, which at first view are not agreeable to the Spirit and Genius of the Gospel; and this, in Points, in which the Christian Religion is concern'd; and which therefore, ought to be be treated of and judg'd of, from the Maxims, Spirit, Precepts, and Motives of the Gospel it self. Again, With respect to the Cause of Protestantism, and of the Reformation it self;

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Arg. 9. That Way of Reasoning ought not to be applauded or received by Protestants, which actually did crush the Reformation at the beginning; which now actually hinders it, or oppresses it, in All Popiss Countries; and which justifies Those who either have heretofore obstructed it, or now in any Country do it.

But the Dean's Way of Reasoning necessarily

produces these Effects. And

Therefore, ought to be rejected by All Pro-

testants.

What I have now affirm'd of It, is very plainly true. For if the Established Church of A Country be the State, or a Part of the Civil Constitution; Or, if the Ecclesiastical Constitution of a Country be the Government, or Part of the Public, in fuch Sense as to be justly defended and supported upon the same Civil Principles, and by the same fort of Civil Methods of Self-defense: If this be so, (which is in truth the Whole of the Dean's Main Argument,) then, This not only, in the Event, will be applied and constantly made use of, in All Countries equally; but with equal Truth and Justice may be made use of, to the same Purposes every where. These General Principles of Civil-Self-Defense, turn'd to the Use of Church-Self-Defense, are as Good, as Just, and as Righteous, in France, or Spain, or Italy, el

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Italy, as They are in England: and the General Argument drawn from them concludes as strongly and as justly for all the same Hand+ ships upon Nonconformists, (that is, Protestants,) in Those Countries, as it can do against Any Nonconformists in England. For it is not drawn from any Privilege that We Christians of Our Established Church have, above Those of all other Nations, to be more Hard and Severe upon All Diffenters from Us, because We have a more Excellent, that is, a more Christian Church than Any Others have; (which would infer the Contrary;) but from those General Principles of Self Defense, which are no better bere than they are Every where; but indeed are equally Good, and therefore equally to be made wherof, as a Common Right, by Every Public, Every Community, Every Governments (for these are the Words the Dean has introduc'd into this Argument;) and with the fame Justice that They can be made use of, in this Country bolool ght to be

Argument, for the Papists, in all Parts, to deny to Their Differences at first, that is, to All who joined in the Reformation, the Common Rights of Subjects: And it is as Righteous now, according to the same Argument, in all Popish Countries, to deny to Protestants those Common Rights; as it is in England to deny them to Nonconformists. Now, That Reasoning which defends the Interest of a Protestant Church by the same Principles which equally defend the

Interest of all Popish Churches, cannot be Just, nor truly for the Interest of the Protestant Cause. And this therefore, I say, is One Ground, upon which Protestants, as Prote-

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flants, ought always to reject it.

Arg. 10. That Way of Reasoning which would justify the Exclusion of Churchmen from All Offices, Supposing Those who are now Nonconformists, to be rightfully posses'd of the Supreme Power; or supposing All who at any time may be rightfully posses'd of the Supreme Power of Legislation, to be render'd, by a Concurrence of Wonderful Circumstances, Ill affected to the present Established Church; (Suppositions, which the Dean cannot deny Us the Liberty of making in this Argument, because he has, in effect, founded the greatest Part of his Imaginary Danger to the Church, upon One or other of these:) Such a Way of Reasoning, I say, cannot be Just Reasoning for the Interest of the Church of England; but ought to be look'd upon as made use of, merely because the Supreme Power is now in the Hands of Churchmen.

But the Dean's way of Reasoning would certainly justify this Exclusion of All Church-

men. And

Therefore, It ought to be look'd upon by Churchmen, as a Mere False, Temporary Argument; only flattering Them whilst They have Power, but making it equally the Right of Others to Exclude and Oppress Them and Their Church, Supposing that Power in Other Hands.

Hands. Such Reasonings as these are Occasional Reasonings, forsaking, and leaving helpless, Those in Diffress, which They pretend, upon a wrong bottom, to support and affist in Prosperity: Like False Friends, abandoning the Weaker side, and flying into the Camp of the Stronger, upon the first Appearance of their Strength: Whereas Every Good Principle is always equally True, whether We have occasion for it or no, for our Secular Purposes; and every Wrong Principle equally false, whether We are Uppermost or Undermost; and That cannot be a True Principle in our Accounts, which can at any time, with equal Right and Justice, be made use of against Us, as it may be for Us. The following Argument will shew the force of the foregoing One, more clearly, and feelingly.

Arg. 11. That Way of Reasoning which justifies, and calls for, the Exclusion of Churchmen from Offices of Power and Trust, in North-Britain, cannot be Just in the Opinion of Good

Churchmen.

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But the Dean's Way of Reasoning justifies

that Exclusion in North-Britain; and

Therefore, It ought not to be allow'd in South-Britain, by any True Friend to the

Church of England.

For as the Dean's Whole Argument is founded upon this particular Church being the Ecclefiastical Constitution of the Realm; upon the
Force of those Principles which belong to Civil
Governments and Communities; upon Declarations of Asts of Parliament; and upon the

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Remembrance of Past Transactions; it will be evident that All the like Proceedings are Just, Wife, Fitting, Reasonable, and Necessary, in Scotland, against the Church of England; which are declared by Him, to be Fitting, Wife, Reafonable, and Necessary, in England, for the sake of the Church of England. For the Two Kingdoms being now effectually united, it unluckily happens that We have Two Ecclefiastical Constitutions of the same Realm. Both of these are equally, in the fame strong Words, declared by the Laws of Men in this Realm, to be Essential and Fundamental to that Union; the One in the South, the Other in the North. In the South, the Members of the Kirk of Scotland, as well as All who differ from Our Church, are Diffenters. In the North, the Members of the Church of England, and All who differ from that Kirk. What is more, It has so happen'd, that When the Church-Men had Power and Interest to do it, They did often contrive, and at last effectually compass, the Alteration of the Form of Church-Government and Worship in North-Britain; and establish their oren in its stead, at the hazard of the Public Peace and Tranquillity there. And it being as certain that They are Hill fond of their own Principles and Opinions; the Dean affures Usthat, having once seen how that Fondness has transported any Men, when Power was in their hands, is a sufficient Ground to suppose that They would use Power again in the same manner, if put into their hands, p. 39. Nay, As He reprefents of England, under the Notion of the Religion which the Nation receiv'd as delivered by Christ; p. 36. so He assures Us in the Case of Others, that such an Opinion of their own Way must make them (whatever They now think) zealous to Impose it upon others. p. 43. Upon all These and the like Topics, He founds his Argument for the Consinement of Offices to the Churchmen in England; and the Exclusion of

Nonconformists of All Sorts.

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Now then, fince it is just and wife to make private Rights, in many Cases, yield to Public Good; fince it is Reasonable and necessary that Offices should be in the Hands of those only who are well affected to the Public, to the Community, to the Government; fince the Ecclesiastical Constitution is to be consider'd as Part of that Government; and all the Good Principles of Civil Self-Defense have a right to be made use of in the Case of an Established Church; and fince Past Ill Behaviour and Ruine of a Church is a Good Argument, for excluding Those who must always be supposed to be ready to act the same Part again: Since These, I say, are the Comprehensive Principles, upon which the Dean builds his Noble Defense. of the Church of England as by Law established; and of those Acts which, He says, are It's proper and Just Safeguards; it will prefently appear that They are of that Nature, as to be very good for this Church, (if They are fo at all) only on this fide of the Tweed; but very bad for it, as foon as you have pass'd that River. For when you come into that Part of the Realm, A new Face of things demands a different and a Contradictory Application of all these Topics. There you find a Church established, of quite another fort; established by the same Laws with That in the South; and declared by the fame voice of Men to be There you will meet with the Unalterable. History of Past Grievances, Past Violences, and Past Destruction, from the hands of Church of England-Men, who are there Dissenters. It will be argued that Care must be taken against Those who have formerly ruined the Kirk; and who are still as fond as ever of their own Principles and Opinions; that Such Men esteem their own way as the Religion deliver'd by Christ; which Consideration it self will engage them to impose it upon Others, by a Method, which that same Religion knows nothing of; that it is just and Wise to guard against Those Evils which naturally arise from leaving All Men to make the Best of their Bible, and therefore that the Church-government Discipline there is necessary against the Wild Conceits of Episcopal Men: That the Kirk has a right to be Defended, by the Exclusion of such Men from all Offices of Trust and Power, as are not well affected; tho' none of the things complain'd of, arose from their being heretofore capable of them. I suppose the Dean therefore, an Inhabitant of North-Britain, and a Member of that Church; and then, methinks

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thinks I hear him fay, "This is the Cafe: " and let Heaven and Earth judge of the Equi-" ty of the Proceedings: I defire All the Bi-" shops in England to shew that there is any thing in this Procedure, but what the Gen-" tlemen of the Kirk of Scotland found ne-" cessary for their own Preservation; who " without the Spirit of Prophecy could eafily " foresee that, if They, who look on their " own Scheme as the Religion deliver'd by " Christ, ever have the Rule again in Scotland, " their little finger will be thicker than the " Loyns of the Kirk. Supposing these Ad-" versaries to be now for Toleration; yet let " me ask the Gentlemen of North Britain " what They are like to get by accepting a " Toleration humbly at the hand of Others, " instead of an Establishment, &c. * This, and what follows in the Dean's Treatife, not only may in the Event, but may justly, thus be made The whole Book indeed, is of an admirable and almost unequal'd Comprehension. It sheds its kind Influences upon All Churches equally; by making it Wife and Just, for every one of them to be defended against the others, by Oppression upon the Members of others. It is particularly of Two differing Complexions, and has Two differing Tendencies, in this same Realm, in which we happen to have Two very differing Ecclesiastical Constitutions. As it is printed at London, it is a Defense of the

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^{*} Vid. p. 37, 38, 42, &c.

Church of England, as by Law established, against All Nonconformists; by shewing the Reasonableness of Excluding them from all offices of Power and Trust. Let it be printed at Edinburgh, with the Change of a Fem names and words; and the history of the destruction of the Kirk put instead of that of the Destruction of the Church of England: and I will answer for it, It is, with equal justice and Truth, A Defense of the Kirk of Scotland, as by Law established, shewing the Justice, Reasonableness and Necessity of Excluding from All offices and posts of any power and Trust, all Nonconformists, and particularly all Episcopal Men; All who do not enter into the Scheme of the Confession of Faith there established; All who are fond of any other Scheme, as of the Religion deliver'd by Christ. The Argument will be the same there, as it is here. The same Topics, and the same Principles will thrive and prosper there, because they belong equally to All States and Churches whatsoever: and will live and flourish even in the Coldest Climates, by their Native Heat and Vigor.

I will just take notice, before I leave this Subject, that the Argument I have now made Use of, is as certainly Good and Conclusive, whether there be actually an Express Law for the Exclusion of All Church of-England-Men, from Offices, in Scotland; or whether They are actually excluded by Practice

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Practice, without such an express Law: Nay, whether They are, in fact, excluded at all, or not. If there be no fuch Law, as I fuppole there is not; but fuch a fettled Cufrom and Practice without it : The Dean's Reasoning expresly contends for, and justifies, this Practice, by which Episcopal Men are excluded from All Offices. And if we suppofe, for Argument's fake, that there is neither fuch a Law, nor fuch a Practice, as does at all Exclude Episcopal Men from Offices; but that they do enjoy All offices there, in common with others: Then, I fay, the Dean's whole Book may be accounted a Satyr upon this weak and Foolish Lenity; and be look'd upon, by Those of that Country, as a Demonstration that They are entitled justly to such Exclusive Acts; that All Episcopal Men ought in common Prudence to be so excluded; and that their solemn Thanks are due to such an Advocate, who has thus openly pleaded their Cause, and demanded, for Them, of the Government, so important a Right. Let all Churchmen take the Dean's Reasoning in this light, that, in another part of the same Country, where They are undermost, it either justifies others in oppressing Them, by denying them the Common Privileges of Subjects; or severely blames Those others for not oppressing Them: and I believe, They cannot be at a loss What to determine about such Principles, as destroy with one hand what They so liberally feem to give with Another.

Arg. 12. That Way of Reasoning which either justifies the Heathen Civil Governments in having denied to Christians that Capacity of holding Civil Offices, which they allowed to Those of the Established Religion; or severely blames Those Heathen Governments which were guilty of so much Folly, as to allow to any Christian such a Capacity; ought not to be admitted by Christians: I might have said, ought to be abhorred by Them.

But the Dean's Reasoning is guilty of both

Thefe. And

Therefore, ought to be rejected by Chri-

Stians.

Let us lay the Scene at a Time, after the Christians had once been possess'd of Supreme Power, and had destroyed the Temples and Worship of the Heathens; and when the Heathens had got the Power into their Hands again: Or, even let Us only suppose such a Time: and the happy Influence upon Christians themselves, which the Dean's Reasoning carries with it, will the more undeniably appear. For as All Private Rights (fays He) are to yield to Public, in many Cases; and as this is one of Those Cases: As the Christians were very fond of their own Principles and Opinions, and entertain'd Them as the Religion delivered by Christ, which, he assures us, necesfarily carries along with it a Resolution of Imposing Them upon Others: Nay, As the Christians had once been tried, and had actually used Power to destroy by Force the Worship of Others;

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Others; and as this is a certain Proof that, whatever their Pretenses were, They would do the same again: Let Heaven and Earth judge of the Equity of the Pagan Proceedings, in defending Their Religion from future Danger, by the present Oppression of Christians in Their Civil Rights: and let All the Christians in the World tell Us, In the Name of All that was ever by Themselves call'd Justice or Charity, What the Gentlemen of the Heathen Religion could do LESS, in their own Defense? Their Mode of Religion, whether call'd the Ecclefiastical Constitution of the Realm, or not, was as much a Part of their Government, as any Established Church in the World can be of Any Other; And their Government as much in danger as Any Other, from Pretenfes of Religion, which the Dean observes to mix themselves so much in Civil Disputes; as well as from that Great Evil of Christians making the Best of their Bible. They might justly, therefore, have filenced the most powerful Advocates for their Christian Nonconformists, almost in the Dean's Words, p. 44. "We are " ready to hear and to consider their Arguments. But if They want to back their Ar-"guments with Power, however We are " bound to attend to Reason, We certainly " have a Right to guard against Force, and " to secure our selves from any thing as Religion imposed upon Us. For these Rea-" fons, and chiefly for the fake of that " Experience which We have had, We can-" not

onot recede from the Exercise of our Right "in making Such Exclusive Laws, as are " truly founded upon the Principles of Self-"defense; and not made to exclude Chri-" Stians from Civil Offices for the Sake of " their Conscientious Scruples, as the Christians represent the Case. Whereas We say " expressly, It is for prevention of Mischief, " fuch Mischief as the Empire has but just now recovered from; " &c. The Heathens might have learn'd from the Principles of the fame Page, how to have prov'd This to have been no Persecution of the Christians; but only an Effectual Hindrance of their perfecuting the Heathens. The Application of this might be made much longer. But the Case is so plain, that I may safely leave it to any Christian, Whether the Heathers Exclusion of Christians of All Sorts from Offices, may not be effectually defended by the very same Reasoning the Dean has here used, in order to justify Christians in their mutual Exclusion of one another from Offces: And if fo, Whether fuch a Waynof Reasoning can be approved of, when it is thoroughly examined, by a Obriftian. "" Arg. 13. " That Way of Reasoning which

Arg. 13. That Way of Reasoning which by necessary Consequence leads to Open and Cruel Persecution of Dissenters, in All Countries; which justifies the Inquisition it self against All Protestants; which justifies the greatest Violences of the late King of France, against the Protestants there; which

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not only permits all this, but directs and guides Christians to Mutual Oppressions, and Mutual Injuries, without Number and without End; and which will ever Continue to do so: Such a Way of Reasoning, I say, cannot be just.

But the Dean's Way of Reasoning, is of

this Sort: And

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Therefore, Cannot be Just in the Account of Any Christian, or Protestant, who will but carefully examine into its Foundation, and trace out the Natural and Unavoidable

Consequences of it.

I am far from charging the Dean, in this Argument, with being an Advocate for Persecution, knowingly and wittingly: as far as I ever was from "fuggefting (what He has laid upon Me, P. 60.) "that He could " not be a Well-wisher to the Exclusive " Laws of our Country, without being an "Approver of Persecution. No. I have always carefully distinguished between Himself, and his Profess'd Principles; between the Doctrine which his Principles necessarily, in my Opinion, lead to, and what He himfelf fees, and maintains. And had I been dealt with, in the same manner; much of his Unmerciful Bitterness had been kept within its proper place; and much of his Entertaining Satyr had died in Silence. I continue in the same Method still. I here charge his Principles only, with all these Consequences; and publickly discharge bimself of Every one of

of them, till He publickly owns and maintains them as his own. And I the rather make the present Charge against his Principles in the Book I am now confidering, because He has declared Himself fo heartily against Persecution; and therefore, We may hope, He may be led to fee, and acknowledge, the Falshood of his Principles, if He can but once be made fensible that They naturally and unavoidably lead to fuch Consequences. And tho it be evident to All who will confider, That the Lowest Degree of Hardship or Oppression, is as truly Persecution, (tho' not in so intolerable a Degree,) as the Highest: Yet, as this is not so easily perceiv'd by Those who are ready to acknowledge the Reality and Unchristian Brutality of Persecution in the Greatest Instances; it is proper to try the Tendency of Men's Principles, with respect to those Terrible Degrees of Persecution, at which They cannot forbear to start; and to see, if from thence an Argument cannot be formed to shew the Injustice, and Eternal Iniquity of them.

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The Principles of Civil Self-Defense, applied to Matters of Religion, or to Ecclesiastical Constitutions of Realms, must hold equally good, in the Application of them to All Degrees of Oppression, or Force, or Persecution, which are equally necessary to That Self-Defense. There can be no Difference made in this Case, by any Consideration, but that of their not being Necessary to this Self-Preservation. And this Consideration

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Consideration is so far from having any Place here, that their Necessity is as evident, as it is in Cases of Civil Self-Defense. As there fore, in Civil Self-Defense, the Highest Degree of Punishment is lawful, only because it is necessary for Self-preservation; and, by that Necessity, becomes as Lawful as Imprisonment, or any lesser Degree of Punishment: So, where the leffer Degrees of Hardship, or Suffera ing, or whatever the Dean will call it, are not fufficient for Self-Defense to any Ecclesiastical Constitution of a Realm; The Greatest Degrees become, by this Necessity, as Lawful, and as Justifiable, as Any of the Lesser. Nor does it make any Difference in the Cafe, to affirm That the Leffer Degrees are not properly Punishments; but that the Greater are Punishments, and therefore not within the Verge of the Dean's Argument. Alass! if He pleases, He may fay the same of the lesser Degrees of Punishments, (so called,) upon Civil Accounts; and I will, with as much right, fay and maintain the same, with respect to the Greatest Barbarities, upon Ecclesiastical Accounts. A States Prisoner, or a Man confined to a Dungeon, upon his being apprehended in a Crime against the Public Good, shall have the comfort of being told from Him, that This is no Punisbment; but is only consider'd as a Confinement of Him, in order to hinder Him from doing mischief, and that this is from the Principle only of that Self-Defense, to which AIR All Governments have a right. But then He must give leave, that Others, upon the Rack in the Inquisition, may have the Comfort likewise of being told the same from Him; That this is not a Punishment for their Heres, or for their being Dissenters from the Ecclesiaftical Constitution of their Country; but only the Necessary Defense of that Constitution from their Assaults, who thinking Their Own to be the True Religion, must of necessity be led by that, to endeavour to impose it upon their Neighbours. The same might be faid of taking away the Lives of Malefactors, or of tormenting them, viz. That it is nothing but Self-defense, call'd indeed by the Name of Punishment, but perform'd only out of Necessity, and not for the fake of Punishment as fuch; but for the fake of terrifying Others, and of preferving and defending the Public: Which is perhaps the Truth of the matter. But how comfortable fuch a Speech would be to a Martyr, or a Confessor; how acceptable to a Protestant in the Gallies, or to a Reforming Heretic upon the Rack; how much it would alter the Real Nature of the Thing; how effectually it would abate their Pains, or lessen the Injury done to them; I leave to all to judge.

My present Argument is founded upon this, not That Men in all Countries will, in the Event, make use of this Reasoning in Religious matters, from Self-defense, (which yet should weigh a great deal, because it strikes e-

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qually in several Places, at all Professions and Sects;) but, That All Men, in all Countries, have an equal Right to argue thus; and that it is as just and as good Reasoning in France, in Italy, in Spain, nay, in any Heathen Countries, for the extreme Barbarities made use of on Religious Accounts; as it is in England, for the Exclusion of any Good Civil Subjects from the Common Rights of Subjects. For the Dean's Reasoning is all founded upon these Principles: That there is a Right in all Governments to defend Themselves against Probable Dangers; That the establish'd Form of Religion in Any Country, has the same part in this Noble Privilege, which the Civil Constitution of it has; That there is a Right therefore, to this Self-Defense, in Cases of one. fort, as well as in those of Another. Now, it being evident that the whole of this is founded upon the Right of Self-Defense; it is as manifest, that there can be no such Right of Self-Defense, where there is not a Right to All methods Necessary for that Self-Defense: And these Principles, being taken from the Right of of Civil Self-Defense; or rather being the same; must proceed as They proceed, and end where they end. For instance. If it be lawful and wife to deny a Man the Common Rights of a Subject, because he differs from an Established Church; and because this Established Church has a Right to be defended from being ruined by Means of that Difference working with the Paf-P 2

fusficient Hardship or Grievance to hinder Men from increasing so as to ruine it, That this Established Church, having a Right to be defended from that Probable Danger, has a Right to be defended by All methods the most effectual to that Good End; and that therefore, Greater Hardships, and Greater Severities, are proportionably necessary, till you come to the Greatest and most Terrible of All; which alone

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can put this Danger out of fight.

It is fit to observe, that the Dean's Reasoning does not rely upon this, That the Gospel does expressly allow and recommend Moderate Hardships, Exclusions, or the like; any more than it does Death and Destruction in the most terrible Forms: or upon this, That Civil Exclufions, or Sufferings in a leffer degree, enacted for Dissenters, are lawful Methods of Self-Defense, according to the Rules of the Gospel; but that Torments and Death are not: But it relies upon that Right of Self-Defense, which implies in it a Right to every thing necessary to that Self. Defense; or else, is but a Mock-Right, and an Imaginary Privilege. This is the Case in Civil Self-Defense: And it must be the same, if the same Principles have any place in Ecclesiastical Self Defense. If the Dean however, will fay that He maintains his Argument only upon this foot, that the lesser Methods are lawful; but that the Greater are not lawful, but utterly forbidden by Christ and his Apostles: He may say

fo; and has a Right to be believed. But this will only prove that he has borrowed Armour which does not at all fit Him; that He does not clearly see the Unavoidable Consequences of his own Principles; and that, nothing of this sort, which He himself can say, being able to alter the Nature and Just Consequences of his Principles, They do, and must ever, remain

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And the better to make a Trial before the World, whether the Just Consequences of his State-Principles, applied to Religion, are not fuch as I have represented them; let us suppose Him to apply Himself seriously to debate with an Inquifitor of Spain or Portugal, upon the Cruelties of the Inquisition. He will, I am confident, with great force of Wit and Elequence, display before his Eyes, the Inhumanity and Unchristian Treatment of His Fellow-Creatures; the Injustice of punishing Men for no Crime, but for differing in Religion from Those, whom their Consciences command Them to differ from; and the making use of Torments, and Death itself, as the Instruments of Good Service to the Church of Christ, who has utterly forbid all fuch Barbarity and Cruelty. The Inquisitor will answer Him, if He knows any thing of the Dean's Notions, That He is very much mistaken in every one of his Allegations: That these Miseries which he sees inflicted upon poor Unhappy Dissenters, are not inflicted as Punishments; nor ought be so accounted

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counted; but that they are the necessary Engines of Self-preservation: That every Government has a Right to defend itself against All probable Dangers; and that their Church isthe Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Realm, and look'd upon by the Civil Powers as Part of the Government, which They are sworn to preserve and defend: That, having a Right to be defended, They have a Right to All Methods necesfary for that Defense: That their Diffenters, the Protestants, were so heady as to think their own Religion to be the True Way of serving God, and being very fond of their own Opinions and Notions, must be led by that Fondness to ruine the Establish'd Church of the Country, as they had done in England, and several other parts of Europe: That the Gentlemen and Pring ces of the Church of Rome, could do no LESS, because Other Lower and Softer Methods of Self-Defense, had been found ineffectual: That it was a long Time before they would proceed to fuch Extremities; but that the same Self defense which made them necessary, gave them a Right to them: That by these Methods alone they keep all Danger out of fight, terrifying All from attempting that Mischief, in these Countries, which for want of such Severities, has been attempted and succeeded in Others: That the State is concern'd in the Church, which it looks upon as One with itself: That the State, or Civil Power, enacts and puts in execution these terrible Laws; well-knowing the Diforder proceeding from leaving any Men to judge for Themselves in Religion, or Protestants to make the Best of their Bible, without other Restraints: That, in sine, if either the Right of Self-Desense can justify the lawfulness of any thing; or the success of any Method can justify the Wisdom of it; They may challenge all the World to blame them, whilst they mean to burt no Body, but only to defend themselves from being burt by Others, which they have a Right to do; and whilst they chuse the only effectual Method of keep-

ing off all probable Dangers.

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I fear, the Dean will in vain tell Him, that these Methods strike Horror upon all humane Minds; that they are detested by the Gospel, and by Nature itself; and the like. For whilst he has in his Hands those Irrefragable Arguguments, taken from the Right of Self-Defense; He can reply, that He is forry for the Pain or Disturbance these Methods give to any one in the World; that it is Self Defense, and nothing else, which is aim'd at by them; that, hard and horrid as They are, They are the more effectual for this very Reason; and that whilst Milder Methods of Self-Defense often encrease, and always continue, the Evil of Nonconformity, as well as perplex and harrafs and discompose Mankind in a lingring and ineffectual manner, These Terrors keep off from most Men, all Mad Thoughts, or Wild Conceits of Nonconformity

formity; and so, by destroying a very Few, defend the Public, the Community, the Government; of which their Ecclesiastical Constitution was ever esteem'd an Essential part, and therefore has a Right to be effectually defended.

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Nor can I fee, I confess, what the Dean can reply, if He will keep firm to the Main Principles of his Book now before Us. All this must follow from them: And I know He will not approve of fuch Confequences. But I beg of Him to consider, whether all this Immense and Boundless Evil does not come from the fatal mistake of putting Established Churches upon the same Foot of Self-Defense, with States and Civil Governments; of adapting the Principles which suit the Latter alone, to the Case of the Former, to which they do not, and cannot belong: And to which All Christians may be convinced They cannot belong, by feeing that they advise, as well as defend, such Enormities of Cruelty, as Humanity abhors, and Christianity threatens with the utmost of God's Wrath. For what Christian can be fatisfied in Principles, which end in fuch fatal Consequences, as are insupportable even to be thought of, and directly contradictory to the whole Design of the Religion He professes: Principles, which can make Men easy in laying waste all the Interests of Humane Society, and trampling under foot all the Rights of Mankind; which justify equally the Inbumaniries of Heathen Governments against all Christians W,

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ens; the Cruelties of Papifts against all Protes tants; as they do the Injuries and Oppressions of Christians upon One another; the Nontolerance of the Kirk of Scotland, as well as the Exclusive Acts in Favour (as it is faid) of the Church of England; the Violences of Nonconformifts against Churchmen, supposing Them at any Time, or any where, rightfully possessed of Power, as well as Those of Churche men at any Time committed against Them? the Animosities of Lutherans against Calvinists, as well as Those of Calvinists against Lutherans: Principles, which give to every Sect, in Poffeffion of lawful Power, an equal Right to har rais, moleit, and deftroy all others: which are favourable to our own Party, only just so long as Humane Power remains fix'd in our Hands; but as foon as the Viciflitude of humane Affairs turns the Scale, are big with all Mischief and Destruction against our selves; and even then, stop the Complaints of every Mouth which will not utterly disown them: Principles, in a Word, which begin in the lighter Sorts of Hardships and Oppressions, and in the fofter Instances of Injustice; but whose End is Outrage and Violence, Storms of Rage and Madness; unbounded Tortures of daily Invention; Gallies, and Gibbets, and Racks, and Fires, and all the Train of Evils which Imagination can find out for the plaufible and harmless Purpose of Self-defense: And Principles, of which the very Best that can be said is, That

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Power of some particular Christians over others; and of which the Least that can be said is, That they lay the certain Foundation of mutual Hatreds, Animosities and Passions, to be justly put in Practice against one another, as fast as the several Parties can ascend to their Beloved Power; and are some of the Greatest Incentives of that Ambition and Lust of Power, which, without the Thoughts that such Maxims naturally inspire into too many Minds, would lie

much more quiet and Tame.

As for our Established Church in particular; could Christians in this Part of the Nation so far forget the Nature of Just and Right, as to contend for That in Themselves, which they cannot wish for, or approve, in Others; could they so far forget the Genius of their own Profession, as to act, in the Cause of Religion, merely upon the Principles of the States and Civil Governments of this World 2 yet methinks, they might be stop'd by some reasonable Doubts even about that Interest it self for which they are so much concern'd. Were it to, that We could please our selves that This was the only established Church in the World: or that We could be fure it would always remain fo; or that the Members, or Approvers, of it should not possibly suffer in any other Part of the Christian World, or of this Kingdom it self, by the same Maxims by which We wish to consult

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it's Prosperity here: fomething might be faid, upon a Bottom merely of this World; and of no Importance, beyond the low and transient Concerns of this short Life. A false Self-love, and the common Notion of Interest and Advantage, might plead our Excuse a little before Men; and the Politics of this World might perhaps allow and applaud our Prudence, in esteeming that to be Just which we find useful. But as this is a Satisfaction below the Dignity of a Christian; so these Suppositions are far from Truth, or Probability. And fince all Conformists may see that these Principles, I am now speaking of, are of such a Nature, that they belp and burt, with equal Certainty, this Church it felf, in feveral Parts even of this Kingdom it felf; fince it is evident from their being founded upon the Right of Governments, that they flatter this Church it felf, merely because it has at present the Voice of Laws, and the Sword of Power, on it's Side; and that they expose the Members of it to just the same Evils and Hardships in other Places, or in other Seafons, which they call for upon All who now differt from it: Such Confiderations as these should awaken Them from the pleasing Dream of Interest and Advantage, which may vanish with the Morning Light; and from Imaginations of worldly Good founded upon Maxims which tend to produce and justify the blackest Scenes of Evil, in which Themselves may come, in Jome Places and in some Times, to bear a great and terrible Part.

And now, Whether what I have faid shall find it's Reception, or not; whether it shall be allowed to be Just, or not: I have this Satisfaction; that I have endeavoured, to the best of my Power, to shew Christians and Churchmen, the natural Consequences of such Principles as Those of the Dean, in this Book; and to convince them that they lead naturally and directly to such Proceedings and Practices, as are equally Unchristian, and Imprudent; equally inconsistent with the Character of Christ's Disciples, and with the true Interest of the Members of the Church of England it self.

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SECT. XXI.

Observations upon the Dean's Remarks, with Regard to the Revolution; to Legal Religious Rights; and upon his Main Argument, as summ'd up by Himself.

HE late Revolution is so remarkable a Transaction; and a Subject upon which I have with Pleasure spent so much of my Pains; that it is no wonder, the Dean was willing to try, if from thence He could not furnish himself with some plausible Allegations against Me, or in Favour of his own Argu-" He would observe, (He says +) ment. " what some seem very desirous to forget, " that one great End of the Revolution was " to secure and preserve the Church established; " and that to labour to hurt this Church, " cannot be a Mark of Friendship to the Revo-" lution." There is nothing, in Truth, that would more concern Me, than to look back upon my past Conduct, and to find My self

guilty of any Want, in the least Degree, of true Friendship to that great and beneficent Transaction, for the Honour of which I have had a fincere Zeal, ever fince I could think about But the Dean will excuse Me, if I take Notice that it is below the Dignity of a Writer of his Degree, to infinuate into his Reader that I have laboured to HURT the Church of England. He should, in common Equity, first have prov'd that what I have advanced does, in the Event, burt this Church: and, after He had done this, He should, in Christian Charity, have imputed this to my Principles, as a Consequence, in his Opinion necessary; and not to Me, as my Defign. But when He justifies to Conscience and Honour many of his other Instances of ill Treatment; He will then justify this, of representing Me, not only as HURTING in Effect, but as labouring to burt, a Church, whose real Interest, according to all my Notions of Christianity, Justice, and Truth, I have laboured to serve to the utmost of my Power; and will go on to do so, according to the best Light I can obtain.

The Dean lets Us know that "He has "turn'd over some of my latest Pieces—

" and to his great Surprize He cannot find that "I have once had it [the Preservation of the

" Church established] in my Thoughts; that

"I talk indeed of Religious Rights preserved or restored by the Revolution; but that I

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" plainly mean such Rights—as are in-" consistent with the Establishment of any " Church, &c." That the Dean has turned over some of my past Writings upon the Subject of the Revolution, he need not have told Us. His late unrighteous Imputation upon Me, taken out of one of them, is a fufficient Proof of this. But it needed not so much to have furprized Him, that, in Books written exprefly to shew the Lawfulness of such Revolutions, in Cases of Universal Invasion of the CIVIL RIGHTS of a Nation; that, in such Books, I say, written for that Purpose, the Right of defending those CIVIL Rights. (which was the express Subject of them) should be the great Point mention'd and repeated; and the inestimable Blessing of a successful Defense of the same Civil Rights, should be the main Thing infifted on. Tho' this alone be a fufficient Plea against this Poor Allegation, yet I may add these two Remarks, That the Matter of Fast is not thus; and, if it were thus, That the Dean, of All Men, ought to have avoided fuch an Objection against Me.

It is not worth while to trouble the Reader with Quotations: But, without being now particular, I dare engage my self to produce several Passages, in which I have expressly declared the Preservation of the Church of England, as one of the Benefits of the Late Revolution:

to which I was indeed led unavoidably by the Ingratitude of those Adversaries I had to deal with, Who, after having feen their Church fratch'd from the Brink of Ruine by the Arms of a Prince whom They themselves importunately invited to its Relief, started back like a broken Bow; repented of their own Cries for Relief, and call'd back upon Themselves and this Church. Those same Evils which they had fust before found to be insupportable. The Other Remark I made was, That, Supposing I had never expresly mentioned the Defense and Preservation of the Church established, in a Defense of the Civil Rights of the whole Nation; the Dean, of All Men, ought to have made no Objection against me upon this Account. For if He can perfuade Mankind, by his Performance now before Us, that the Church is the State; Part of the Government, to be defended and preserved by the same Methods with the State; He needs be at no other Trouble, but to apply this Notion to those Writings of mine; and He will eafily find in them His Church, His Establishment, His Government, His Public, His Community, in those comprebenfive Words, Civil Rights, Laws, Privileges, and many other of the like fort so often repeated by Me.

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However, the Dean acknowledges, * That ' I talk indeed, in those Writings, of Religious Rights, preserved or restored by the Revo-'lution.' But, as one who knows My heart, He declares that 'I plainly mean such Rights ' as are inconsistent with the Establishment ' of any Church.' He does not tell his Reader in what Passage this plainly appears: nor ever will, I am certain; because He cannot. One thing indeed, He may be fure of, that by Religious Rights, I never meant Civil Rights. But I hope, I might mean That Common Right of Protestants to judge for Themselves in Religion; and to Worship God according to their own Consciences, without the Dread of Fire and Faggot; and the Toleration, which was the Consequence of the Revolution. Whether This Toleration was so extensive and universal as the Principles of Protestantism do naturally and unavoidably lead to, is not the Question. this Toleration, as it is granted, I flatter my felf, the Dean himself will not say, either that it is not one of the Religious Rights which was owing to the Revolution; or that It is a Religious Right inconsistent with the Establishment of Any Church: not only because Experience shews the contrary, viz. that the Church-Established, and the Enjoyment of this Right, have been for near Thirty Years perfectly Consistent; but because He himself, a very sew Pages from this, † is so good as to declare that 'He likes the Establishment the better for

^{*} Page 49, 50, † page 55.

this Abatement in the rigor of it's Laws,' by the Toleration granted fince the Revolution. Now, for the Dean to speak of This as confequent upon the Revolution; as not only confiftent with, but a great Advantage in his Eyes to, the Establishment of the Church it felf: And at the same time, not to permit Me to mean this, or to speak of it so; but arbitrarily and positively to declare that I meant No Religious Rights but what are Inconsistent with that Church-Establishment with which All the Rights, preserved and restored by the Revolution, have been found to be Consistent !- He may, at his leisure, satisfy the World of the Justice and Charity of this Proceeding; and reconcile It with Good Sense, amongst the Rest of his Self-destroying Propositions and Accusations.

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The Legislature (thus the Dean proceeds) knows No Religious Rights but what are contained in the Establishment of the Church of England.' And this He proves from the Lords and Commons telling King William, at the latter End of his Reign, that ' After the Settlement of the Crown on Himself, &c. in His first Year, His Majesty's good Subjects were e restored to the full and free Possession and Enjoy-" ment of their Religious Rights and Liberties.' I suppose, He takes his Argument from hence, that, at the Time to which They look back in these Words, there was No Legal Toleration enacted; for He afferts that 'No Religious ' Rights were then actually restor'd, but the Peoples free Enjoyment of their Religion as pros,

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profes'd in the Established Church; and that therefore, I ought not to talk of Other Religious Rights, as restor'd at the Revolution, which plainly knew nothing of them.

Tho' I am indeed, very forry to hear this Imputation upon the Legislature; yet, it concerns Me the less, because I never take my Notions of Religious Rights from Humane Laws: or of what Almighty Godhas vefted Mankind with, from the Declarations and Decisions of his Fallible Creatures. But thus much I may fay, That the Lords and Commons might justly be supposed at that time to have had their Eyes, in the Words before-cited, upon all the happy Consequences of the Settlement of the Crown upon King William: One of which was the Toleration of Protestant Dissenters. This either was the Right of those Dissenters; or it If it was not; then the Legislature was not. granted them what they had no Right to; and acted a piece of Injustice towards the Established Church. But if it was their Right; as the Dean will own, I suppose, because he is so much better pleas'd with the Church it felf, fince this was granted; then here is a Right, and this a Religious Right, restored by means of the Revolution, distinct from all those Religious Rights which are implied in the Establishment of the Church of England. The Legistature granted This, as a Right, and a Religious Right: and therefore, It is a groundless Imputation upon It to fay, That ' the Legislature Knows no religious Rights but what are contained Q 2

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when it is so evident that the same Legislature Knows the Right to Toleration, upon which the express Law for it must be supposed to be sounded, unless you will suppose Them to have done Wrong to the Establishment by it. And Why the Parliament might not have an eye to All the happy Consequences of the Settlement of the Crown upon King William, as well as to One not expressly named; and Why I may not be allowed to recommend Those Religious Rights, as restored by, or even at, the Revolution, (if I have used this latter Word, as I believe I have not,) which were restored in Consequence, and by means of It; I am consident, it will be out of the Dean's power, with

all his Skill in Words, to determine.

I shall add one Word with respect to the malignant Influence of fuch Arguments as this, taken from Humane Legislatures, upon the Cause of Truth; of Protestantism; and of the Church of England it self. Supposing the Legislature of Spain to know No Religious Rights, but what are contained in the Establishment of the Popish Church there; will it follow that Oppressed and Injured Protestants have therefore No Rights? Supposing the Legislature of Scotland, before the Union, knew nothing of any Religious Rights, but what are contained in the Establishment of the Kirk of Scotland; or that the present Legislature of Great-Britain knows nothing of Any Other Religious Rights in that Kingdom: does it follow that Therefore, Episcopal Men, ing

ing good Civil Subjects, have No Religious Rights there? I presume, Not. And if not; to what is it that such Arguments tend, but to injure what is founded on Truth in our own Opinion, as well as what we esteem to be founded on Falshood; to lay waste the Religious Rights of All equally; and to hurt Our selves in some Places, and at some Times, as well as our Neighbours, and Fellow-Creatures, and

Fellow-Subjects, in Others.

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The Dean, after this Declaration about Legal Religious Rights, summs up his Argument; Which being intirely founded upon the Right of All GOVERNMENTS to defend Themfelves; and, in consequence of this, to provide that the Powers of the Constitution be lodged in fuch Hands only as are well-affected to The ESTABLISHMENT; upon the Experience of Times past, and the Right of Men to deny Others their Rights, for fear These Others should one time or other come to tyrannize over Them; and the like: I can do nothing but refer the Reader to what I have faid at large to shew, That this Method of Reasoning is in effect declaring that the Church is the State; that, wherever there is a Church-Establishment, the adapting of the Principles of Civil-Selfdefense to the Cause of that Establishment, will lead to, and justify equally in Any Parts of the World, the same Severities against Church of England Men themselves; will destroy the Whole Protestant Cause; and defend with equal

Page 51.

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Justice the Highest Instances of Persecution and Barbarity of the Inquisition it felf, as it does any the Lovest Degrees of Civil oppression; and that the Argument, in such Cases, drawn from Past Behaviour of Predecessors, holds as strongly, both against Christians and Protestants in general, and Church-Men in particular, in feveral Places, and at several Times, as it can do against the Allowance of Civil Rights to Those the Dean happens at present to be engaged with. I will here say nothing farther, but That, if Learned and Ingenious Men will thus defend the Church of England; and will, upon fuch Foundations, decry and contemn Others as wanting in their Zeal for It; one thing remains, which the World has a Right to expect of Them, and that is, To declare frankly and openly that they confider this Church only as a Political Constitution; To leave off Apostolical talking of it, as of a Christian, Church, framed and fashioned exactly upon the Primitive Model; or, as of the Religion delivered to them by Christ himself: Or else, To acknowledge in plain Words, That Those Methods of Self-defense (as they are call'd) which they plead for, are lawful and Justifiable, only as It is a Political Establishment, or a Civil Constitution, but are utterly Unlawful and Unjustifiable, as It is a Christian, Apostolical Church; that they only defend it with Carnal Weapons, in the former Sense, but that consider'd in the latter, The Weapons of its Warfare, are not Carnal but Spiritual; when

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when They oppress any other Christians, they are to be consider'd as acting in their Political Capacity; but that They abhor every thing like it, in their Christian Capacity. Letbut some fuch things be plainly faid; as they justly follow from what is sometimes said: And I should hope, that the Faith of Christians is not yet in fo decayed a Condition, nor Christianity so totally vanished from amongst Us, but that All the Members of this Church will chuse that Method of acting which becomes them as Christians; will carefully weigh their Duty and Obligations in the Scale of the Gospel; and reject all fuch Principles and Maxims, in the Concerns of their Church, as must effectually destroy it felf in Other Circumstances; and are, in the mean while, far removed from the Genius of that Religion, which their Bleffed Master came down from Heaven to plant first in their Hearts, and then in their Practice, and which is comprehended in those sew Words, Glory to God in the highest, Peace on Earth, Good-Will among [t Men.

But if still it is so, that such a Defense must be esteem'd a Defense of the Church of England: If a Defense, (as this is in its just Consequences, tho' not in its Design) of Heathens against Christians; of Papists against Protestants; of Protestants against one another; of the Kirk-Establishment of Scotland against the Members of the Church of England it self; in one Word, of Every Body against Every Body: If That which is the necessary Foundation of

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Eternal Uneasinesses, and mutual Injuries without End, must be still accounted a Desense of this Protestant Church of England; I pray God help it. But in the mean while, I have this to say, that I neither have, nor will have, any hand in such Desenses; nor in bringing any such Reproach upon what, I think, deserves better at our Hands.

SECT. XXII.

Some of the Dean's remaining Observations considered.

HE Dean, before he comes to his fecond Main Question, spends several pages in making some Remarks upon the State of the Corporations in England; upon the Design and Extent of the Test-Act; upon the Practice of Other Countries; and the like. I must therefore, take some notice of these particulars; as far as the Argument calls for it. As to the Corporations; He tells us *, that ' There are Instances where a very few Subjects in a 'little Town are represented in Parliament by 'as many Members as the largest County chuses; and therefore, since many little · Towns have, by our Constitution, such an Influence, there is nothing more reasonable than to provide that fuch only as are Friends to the Establishment in Church and State, should have the direction of Them.

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this (says He) is reasonable, or it is reasonable to affirm, that the Constitution in Church and State ought not to be what the Nation likes, but what the Towns Corporate shall think proper for them. This is his Reasoning: which, He adds, may be extended to Other Offices in the State; but more evidently concludes for continuing the Sacramental-Test in the Case of Corporation-Officers.

As the Foundation of this, He lays down Two Particulars worthy of Consideration. The first is, that 'It may be allowed that the Ecclesiastical Eablishment (as far as it is in its Nature changeable by humane Laws) ought to be ' agreeable to the Sense of the Nation; But ' (He adds, as a second Observation) No com-' mon Sense will allow that the little Towns of a ' County ought to govern the Consciences of I would add, No, nor the Great a County. Towns neither, could I possibly imagine what so considerable a Man as the Dean of Chichester can mean by governing the Consciences of Others, after having declared so often for Liberty of Conscience; and so fully, in the Case of our Establishment it self, that He likes it the better for not governing Mens Consciences. But to return;

ftrength in it, because it happens that Great Britain is now One Kingdom, represented by one and the same Parliament; and that in this One Realm, thus represented, there are Two Ecclesiastical Establishments; One in the South,

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and One in the North; and Both of thefe, equally declar'd to be the Establishment, and Unalterable. Thefe Two may be confider'd either as diffinit Establishments, or as making up One Whole, to be preferv'd, according to the Dean's Argument. Now, if the Ettlesiastical Establishment Ought to be agreeable to the Sense of the Nation; that is, the Majority; then, certainly, the Majority in the British Parliament being of the Church of England, the Establishment in North-Britain Ought, according to the Dean, to be made agreeable to the Sense of the Nation, or to that Majority which do not like it so well as their own. we consider Both Establishments, as constituting One Whole to be preserv'd; the Dean puts great Impossibilities upon his Fellow-Subjetts, when He makes the Strength of fuch a Conftitution to lie in the Affection of the People to it; because this must suppose the Necessity of an Equal Affection to the One Part of this Whole, as to the Other; (which is impossible) as His Argument must suppose the Reasonableness and Necessity of having an equal Number of Members of Parliament well-affected to the Church-Establishment in Scotland, and of Those well-affected to the Church-Establishment in England: Because, I say, Both being equally the Establishment, and consequently both equally to be guarded and preferved; according to His Argument, it is equally unrighteous for these little Towns which He speaks of, to be directed by Those who are not well-affected to the Kirk-Establishres - e ;

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Establishment in North-Britain, as His Way of Reasoning makes it for Them to be directed by Those who are not well-affected to the Church-Establishment in England. For as I have observ'd, they are Both Establishments; and, as He afterward observes, the Kirk enjoys the like Security of Laws, which our Church does. An Argument therefore, built upon Absurdities, and necessarily implying in it such Inconsistencies, cannot possibly be a Good One; nor for the real Advantage of the Church of England, which it apparently hurts just as much as it is suppos'd to help it. And if this Argument proves any thing towards the Reasonableness of the Test in Corporations; it proves as justly that there ought to be a Test supposing Affection, and implying a facred Regard to the Kirk and the Church equally; that is, to Two Establishments, or Two Parts of the same National Establishment, of too different, and too contradictory a Nature, to be preferv'd and fecur'd by means of an equal Affection to both.

ment, to urge the declared unalterableness of these Two Establishments, which He afterwards puts Me in mind of. For if that Legal Declaration be enough to secure them for ever; then there is no necessity for the Test-Act, or Occasional-Act: and This alone is an Answer to the Dean's whole Book. There is no need likewise, of that Affection to the Establishment in England, which He contends for, in this place: Nor will it signify much, how and by whom Corporations are repre-

represented; if so be that Representation falls upon Men sensible of the Eternal Obligation of fuch a Law. But that in reality This Declaration fignifies little in the Dean's Opinion, is evident from what He here allows, Viz. That the Ecclesiastical Establishment Ought to be agreeable to the Sense of the Nation. For if so; then, upon any Alteration of the Sense of the Nation, that is, the Majority, The Establishment it self not only may be, but ought to be altered according to it. The Restriction here added, as far as it is in it's Nature changeable by Humane Laws, makes no difference at all, as to the Point in hand. For All Establishments are changeable just as far as They are Humane Establishments: All are changeable by Humane Laws, just as far as They are founded upon Humane Laws. Before Christianity it self was an Establishment by Humane Laws; it was Christianity; and subsisted in the profession and practice and worship of Its followers: And after it ceased in some Countries to be Established by Humane Laws, that Alteration changed nothing of what was Unchangeable in it. It still remained, and was the same Religion, whether Established or not Established: which I mention to shew that such Restrictions sound only as if some Sense were under them; whereas in truth, Establishments by Humane Laws are just so far changeable as They are Establishments; and consider'd as Humane Establishments, have nothing in their Nature unalterable,

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3. The Dean, having here allowed That the Ecclesiastical Establishment Quent to be agreeable to the Sense of the Nation, I think, destroys, by this, One Design of his own Argument in this very place; and manifestly obliges Himself, in order to recover such a Step, to have recourse to his Usual manner of Self-Contradiction. For if the Ecclesiastical Constitution Ought to be agreeable to the Sense of the Nation; Then the Declaration of this Sense of the Nation Ought to be constantly and for ever, free, and unbyass'd. Now, the Dean here argues in gene-That ' the Influence which Offices give 'in the Election of Parliament-men makes it reasonable that They should be confined to the Friends of the Constitution in Charch as ' well as State.' So that his Argument in effect, must rely upon these Two Points, That the Church-Establishment Ought to be agreeable to the Sense of the Nation: And that, in order to have the Sense of the Nation impartially known, it is fitting that Those who have Offices, and can influence or govern Elections of Parliament, should be all Men beforehand determined in Affection and Zeal for the prefent Church-Establishment, as it now is. These Two Points, I fay, are utterly Incompatible. And I argue, on the contrary, that, if the Dean fays true, That the Church-Establishment OUGHT to be agreeable to the Sense of the Nation; this Sense of the Nation ought to be free from all fuch Influence: and that This very Position 10 of His is a strong Argument against such Atts as

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the Test-Act, and hot for Them.

As to the same Position, as He applies it to Corporations, his Argument is, That ' the Nation ought to provide, That fuch only as are Friends to the Establishment in Church as well as State, have the direction of Them; because otherwise the Constitution must be what the Towns Corporate, and not what the Nation, " shall think proper.' This Argument is like the Rest, in time of distress. For it goes only upon the present State of Affairs; or else it fupposes that what is agreeable to the Sense of the Nation now, will, and must be so, always. Otherwise, This very Position here laid down lays the fame Obligation upon the Nation, that is, the Majority, to establish another Form of Church Government, whenever their Sense of this Matter shall alter, as it lays now upon them, to preserve the present. And, as I have already observed, even at this present time, It equally makes it their Duty to keep Corporations in the hands of Those who are wellaffected to the Kirk-Establishment in Scotland, as it does to keep them in the hands of Others. And this, I confess is to Me as strong a Demonstration of the Unconclusiveness of such Arguments drawn from Humane Laws; as it is, in any Point of Mathematics, to argue from the Necestary Absurdities following from any Suppolition.

4. The Argument here made use of, (whether design'd or not so to do,) will of Necessity, I fear,

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fear, go much farther than it is professedly order'd to go just at this time. The same Topics will prove it the Duty of the Nation to exclude All Nonconformists from sitting in Parliament, much more than from Voting for Parliament-men; and much more from all Right to Vote themseves for Parliament-men, than from the Possession of fuch Offices as may only influence Others in their voting for Members. He therefore, who argues so strenuously against their possessing of Offices in general, only because those Offices give an Influence in the Elections of Parliament-men, and particularly in Corporations; must, if He will be consistent with Himself, whether He now intends it or not, argue from hence much more zelously against Voting for Parliament men; and much more zelously still, against their Sitting in Parliament to Vote in the Affairs of the Nation relating to the Establishment both of Church and State, if such shall come before them. And indeed, I must do the Dean so much Justice, as to observe that He has not much studied to hide his Sentiments about this. For in the next Page + He argues in fact thus. 'If it be ' reasonable to keep any Power out of Dissen-' ters hands; that Power certainly, which gives ' them an Influence in the Legislature; in making Laws for Church and State, ought ESPECIALLY to be kept from them' There wants nothing here but to fill up the Syllogifm,

* Page 54.

from

from the Design of his Whole Book, thus. ' But it is reasonable, and even necessary, to keep fome Power out of Dissenters hands. Therefore, certainly that Especially which gives Them a Part, as well as an Influence, in the Legiflature. ' He adds, ' And it must upon the e least Reflexion appear very strange to advance a Man to a Share in making Laws for the Nation, and yet to deny Him all other Power,' Now this is the Case with us at prefent. For a Nonconformist may, by the Law, have a Share in making Laws for the Nation; and yet is, and ought to be, according to the Dean, excluded from Offices of Power and Truft. As this does indeed appear very strange to Me; I would argue from it, That They who are legally capable of a Share in making Laws for the Nation, ought not to be deny'd Powers and Trusts of a leffer fort. As it appears likewise, very strange to the Dean, He argues the very contrary Way, That They who are justly and necessarily excluded from Offices of Power and Truft, ought much more to be also excluded from the greatand more important Privilege of having a Share in the Legislature, or making Laws for Church and State. This is plain and open in Him; and an Attempt to carry Things farther than they are at prefent; and to move a very material and great Alteration in our Civil Constitution, before the World. Whether it will fucceed or no, I know not. But one Thing puzzles Me perpetually in this Scheme; and that

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that is, How to adjust this Matter between the Southern Establishment, and the Northern; whether, the Dissenters from One only must by this Argument be excluded; and which of them Two that happy One is: Or, whether Dissenters from Both Establishments must be excluded from this Important Power of Legislation. For it is certain, They are Both Establishments: and it is as certain that They who are zealous for the One of them, let it be which it will, must be far from being Friends to the Other. Thus perpetually is it feen that Arguments not founded upon Reason; which is universally and constantly the same; but upon Partial and Local Considerations, run into such Extremities as can never be accounted for, or defended.

The Dean now gives Us a very few Words about the Test Act in particular. + He acknowledges that ' when it was made it related par-' ticularly to the Papists. And his Lordship, (He ' adds) who can distinguish between a Man's ' Religion, and the certain, Necessary Effects of it, can fee, without doubt, the Reason-' ableness of A Test, or any other Disqualifi-' cation in this View. ' He professes his own Aversion to Persecution in these Words, ' For my own part as far as the Argument ' for Persecution is concern'd, I make no dif-' ference between One Religion and Another: 'And can as little justify hanging a Papist ' merely for his Religion, as a Protestant.

[†] Page 55.

therefore the Test-Att be in truth a Persecu-

it be only a reasonable Provision for the Se-

curity of the Establishment against suspected. Enemies, it is good in every Case where

there is probable Ground for such Suspicion.'
Upon all which I cannot forbear saying in general, Either that the Dean is the most Unhappy of Writers with respect to My Understanding; or that I am the most Unhappy of Readers with respect to his way of Reasoning. For here is nothing, as far as I can see, but concluding One Thing from Another as different from it, as it is possible to be. For Instance,

1. He argues that I, who can distinguish between a Man's Religion and the Certain Effects of it, must see the Reasonableness of A Test, or any other Disqualification in this View: and this particularly with regard to the Test Act, which enacts the Sacramental-Test; and excludes by that means, as He fays, All Protestant Nonconformists. Now, I do indeed distinguish between a Man's Religion, consider'd as Religion; and its profess'd, avow'd, Certain, Enmity to the State: by the State meaning the Civil State; not the Dean's State, nor His Public, nor His Government, which is of a quite different Make, from what Mine is, in this Argument. It is upon this Enmity to the State, I found the Necessity of some Disqualification, in the Case of Certain Open Enemies to the Civil From this, the Dean would infer that I must see the Expediency of the Test-Act, which enacts

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enacts the particular Test of receiving the Communion for this Disqualifying Purpose: whereas, thô He might infer that, in the Case of avow'd Enmity to the Civil Government, I was for some proper Method of Disqualification; yet He cannot possibly infer that I am for a Method which, upon many Accounts, I cannot approve of; and which, as I have shewn already, unnecessarily tends to the Profanation of a sacred Institution of our Lord's; besides many other Inconveniencies. And from hence He would likewife infer that I, who allow of a Disqualification, in Case of Open and Avow'd Enmity to the Civil Establishment, must likewise allow and contend for the same Civil Disqualification, in Cale even of a lesser Affection for One particular Church than Another.

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2. I perfectly agree with Him in this, that I can as little justify hanging a Papist for his Religion, as a Protestant. Nay, I will go farther and fay, I can as little justify the Excluding a Papist from Civil Offices, merely on the Acc unit of his Religion; as any Protestant: or on any Account, but that of his Open Avow'd Enmity to the Civil Government, as now fettled in To this alone, and not to his Difthis Land. ferences in Chursh-Matters, have I confined My Argument for Any Civil Disqualifications. From hence again, the Dean would infer, that I must approve of the Exclusion of Others by the Test-Act, equally with the Exclusion of Papists. Whereas the Test Act, as it excludes Papists, that is, Those who are openly and avowedly R 2 Enemies Enemies to the Civil Constitution of the Nation, is no more a Persecuting Law, than a Law made for hanging a Robber (tho' He should profess to rob out of Conscience) is a Persecuting Law. The Test Act therefore, is Not the same, in every It may be Good, so far as to be Just, and not at all a Persecuting Law; as it excludes fuch as are Open Avowed Enemies to our Civil Establishment, even tho' the Means by which it does this may, upon other Accounts, be not fuch as might be wished. But then, as it excludes Others, who are hearty Friends to the Civil Government, from the Rights of Good Civil Subjects, upon the Account of Differences in Religion, and by taking Advantage of those Differences; it may be Unjust in this respect, and far from being Good in this View. We see again, that the Dean would infer, in My Name as well as His Own, an Exclusion of Civil Friends from Civil Offices, from My Al-Iowance of the Exclusion of Civil Enemies from Civil Offices. This is putting That into His Conclusion which was not, and could not be, in Our Common Premisses. And this is the rather to be remark'd, because Those Premisses, in which alone I agree with Him, strongly imply the very contrary to what He has concluded from them. For the Justice and Reasonableness of excluding Those from Civil Offices, who are Enemies to the Civil Government, points out to us the Justice and Reasonableness of not excluding Those who are Friends to it; as it is founded upon the Right of Those who are Friends, and the

And therefore, the Conclusion from such Premisses, if He was resolved to make One in My Name, should have been the direct contrary

to what He has made it.

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3. There is nothing here more remarkable than his putting into his Premisses, which He makes mine also, the Words Certain, Necessary Effects of Mens Religion, (He must mean upon the Civil State; for to That only have I applied them;) and in his Conclusion, silently changing these Words into Suspected Enemies to the Establishment : Thus placing Suspicions and Surmises (which may destroy any Men in the World) in the same Rank with Open, Avowed Certainties; putting Suspected, as of the same Importance with Certain or Undeniable Enemies, even by their own Confession; and meaning by Establishment in the Conclusion, not the Civil Establishment, which alone He meant in the Premisses put upon Me as mine; but the Church, or Ecclesiastical Constitution of this Realm. This is the Logic of laying down a Proposition in Terms of Une certain Signification; and inferring from it a Conclusion, in Terms of quite another, indeed as different as possible.

That the Test Act has kept out Papists from Offices, and done service that way to the Nation; I have never denied. But that it has kept out Others, who have not forseited their Common Right to Civil Offices by any Disassection to the Civil Government, is as true on the

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be found out, full as effectual with respect to Papists, as This, of the Sacramental Test; which is effectual, and can be effectual only because the Leaders of the Papists have not yet thought sit to give them a general Dispensation to communicate with Us when they please: So, I cannot think that One good Effect of a Law, depending upon accidental Circumstances, can be a sufficient Reason for it; if it be found to be Unjust, and Disagreeable to the Ends of Civil Government, and Injurious to good Subjects; as well as a Debasement of a sacred Instituti-

on of the Christian Religion.

The Dean is pleased here to descend to one of the most pitiable Instances of Reproach one can well think of; when He fays, that if the Reader will be at the Trouble, He will find, I have been beholden to King James's Declaration for my Arguments against the Test Act t. This is rashly said, because He could not know it to be true. It is falfly faid, because it is not true; I having never read or heard that Declaration. It is meanly faid, because the only Point to a Christian Divine is, Whether my arguments are good and Christian, or not. It is weakly faid, because my agreement in such a point with that Declaration is no more a Reproach, than the Dean's agreeing with it in the general Principle of Liberty of Conscience. Nay, It is so far from bein Pr

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ing a Disgrace, that it is an Honorr to the Best Principles in the World, that the Worst-defigning Men cannot carry on even the Worst deligns they have without paying that Homage to them, as to Use their Name and their Authority to cover, or to colour, the Evil which they really intend at bottom. I will not retaliate this, by faying that the Dean has borrowed his Account and Defense of our Church Establishment from Any Popish Writers; of which I know nothing. But I will repeat here, what I have proved, that He has put new Weapons into their Hands; and in effect, taught them how to plead for Persecution, even whilst the Holy Men may avoid the very Word, and declare their detestation of fo odious a Sound and fo wicked a Thing.

That the Test Act was declared to extend to Protestant Dissenters, fince the Revolution, by those who sincerely detested Persecution, I do not deny. I can the more easily believe it, feeing the Dean pleading for That, and much more, whilft He is ever now and then proclaiming his zeal against the same Evil. who ever denied that the Laws in England extend to Those, to whom the Letter of them extend? But, as what He here acknowledges of the particular Design of this Act, shews that his former supposed Intent of our Legislators cannot be true: fo, I fee not my felf concerned in this Part of his Work, because I never difliked the Test Act upon the Account of its being enacted in King Charles the Second's Reign; R 4 nor

nor can like it the better for having been continued in King William's. My Arguments are against Things, and not Persons: Nor do I dislike what leads to Persecution, in the Dean, he may affure Himfelf, more than I do, when I find it espous'd by Any Others, whom He supposes Me to like better. But this I think, that there is the more Reason, to state the Case plainly before the World, if there have been so many Clouds, on all hands, cast before the Eyes of Men, As to any thing therefore, of this Sort; Or, As to the Movements and Machines of Politicians, I reckon not My self concern'd with them: And if I differ from Them, even from those whom I most highly value, I can no more help it, than the Dean

can, in many more Instances.

A few lines follow to let us know that these Exclusions are in All Countries, and particularly in All Protestant Countries. So much the worse: and so much the more need still, of fpeaking plainly upon this Subject. If there can be One Instance of Public Advantage proved to accrue to any Kingdom or Commonwealth, from such Confinements of Offices, which is not vaftly overweigh'd by Multitudes of apparent Inconveniences and great disadvantages; something might be urged from Example. when no fuch thing can be shewn; but, on the contrary, the Rife and Increase of many Evils, as well as the Inequality and Unrighteou[ne]s of the thing it felf, is evident beyond all Contradiction; the urging fuch Examples is only declaring

declaring Others to be like our selves; and giving that miserable Comfort, that We are not alone in this Unhappiness: Which neither lessens the Imprudence, nor the Guilt, of any thing. But after all this boasted Similitude, (which is never to be allow'd as any Argument, but when we like it,) I would ask the Dean a few Questions: tho' I lay no stress upon them, as to the Essence of the Matter before Us.

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What Injury has the Republic of Holland receiv'd from leaving the Highest Military Posts open to Men of all Denominaions? And how does this Practice bear any resemblance to Ours? What Injury would the same Republic receive, were Civil Offices laid open to Arminians? and what has the Confinement of God's Favours in the System of Calvin, to do with the Confinement of the Offices and Favours of Men, in the System of this World's Politics? What possible Disadvantage could arise to that State, from a Person's being in Office, who believes that Christ died for all Men, in a Sense different from that in which His honest Neighbour believes the same Proposition? Supposing Multitudes in Holland should, by hearing Our Liturgy sometimes read in any English Churches there, come to approve of it, and to chuse it as the Best Manner of Public Worship; Would the Dean think the States in danger of being undone, if these Persons were not excluded from All Offices? Or would He think this Choice fo much as a Misfortune to them? And much less, a Crime sufficient cient to be a just Reason for their Suffering in their Civil Rights, that they like Our Church better than another? And yet, this must be the Case, according to His Way of arguing. Every one must suffer, and suffers justly, unless in England it self, for approving the Church of England,

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and chusing our Manner of Worship.

Again, what damage would that Government receive, in which, the Dean affures Us, there is a Mixture of Calvinists and Luiberans, if that Mixture were Equal, or Accidental? Or what Resemblance, in his opinion, can this Mixture, as He represents it, bear to his own Notion of our Laws justly excluding ALL Nonconformists to one particular Church, or System? And how can He give such Instances, as bearing any likeness to our State? Above all, What has Denmark, or Sweden, got by their strictness and severity, upon such Accounts; unless the great Advantage of a Naked Country, and a Depopulated State? or, Why would the Dean permit himself to name such a Name as that of Sweden; which must put Us in mind that One hardship always in Time, pleads for, and brings on, another; and must call before our Imagination such a Scene of Desolation stalking about, and of Misery brought upon a once brave People, as may convince every Man that Protestant Hardsbips may be as fatal in their Consequences, as Popish; that they are equally Unjustifiable; and that the Beginnings of Evil, tho' feemingly Light and Little, are the First Inlets to what is at last Insupportable: which comes comes gently, step by step, with it's Apology of Self-defense in its hand, till at last All Complaints, and All Remonstrances are Unavailable. For, the least Beginning of this sort being in reality so much taken from just Liberty; No wonder if Terror and Destruction will ever, in the End be seen to sinish that Self-defense, which Exclusions and Disqualifications merely on the Account

of Religion, were feen to begin.

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But, with respect to All the Governments that the Dean has nam'd; Can He produce any one of them, which makes the Participatheir Worldly Partiality? And does not This shew, both that Other Tests of Exclusion may be found out; and that He can find no Total Similitude to What He now defends by the Example of Those, whom He will not follow in Other things; after having tried in Vain to defend it by Reason and Argument. I wonder He did not mention France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal; as well as those Countries He has named: for the Cause and the Argument receives just as much support from the proceedings of the Papists against their Protestant Dissenters; as from the Proceedings of the Protestants against one another: And with this Advantage, of not contradicting the Main Principles of their Cause, or the Foundation of their Churches.

I do not mention again the Case of North-Britain in this same Kingdom, and Island: as to which I have already taken sufficient Notice,

of the happy Influence of fuch Reasonings and fuch Examples upon the Members of the Church of England it fell. For as Scotland is, in effect. equally call'd upon by the Dean, to take no. tice of these Glorious Instances of Exclusion and Disqualification, in All Protestant Countries; and to sollow such Noble Examples: the Governor and Members of the Kirk there, are obliged in duty, if all this fignify any thing, to guard with the utmost Care all the Confines of their Offices from the most distant Approaches of Any Men, who like the Church of England better than the Kirk of Scotland. And with this One Consideration, recommended to every Member of our Church, I close this part of the Cause founded upon the Example of Weak and Interested Men; the worst and most destructive of all Arguments: tho', I am forry to fay it, too often the most infinuating, most moving, and most agreeable to the Passions of Mankind.

The Dean concludes what He says upon his First Main Question of with putting Me in mind that the Test Act is in effect declared to be Essential to the Union, of the Two Kingdoms, and to remain for ever Unalterable, by Virtue of that Clause in an Act previous to the Union, which declares that All and Singular Acts then in force, for the Establishment and Preservation of the Church of England are made Perpetual: Under which Description the

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Test Att (He says, tho' with some sort of Dubiousness and Hesitation) may come. Now, 1. He owns the Att before the Union, does not expressly mention the Test Act; as it does others. And therefore, at worst, I offend not against the Express Words of this Law. 2. The only Positive Argument He has to produce for this, is, That in the Tenth Year of Queen Anne, the Test Act is declar'd to have been made for the Security of the Church of England. But this is far from being a Just Arment, That some, in the fifth Year of Queen Anne, meant to fay this of the Test Ast, because others, of very different fentiments from them, five Years after, did fay it. Neither do these others fay that This was included, or delign'd to be thus included, in the Act before the Union; which is the only Point now before Us. the Establishment and Security of the Church of England were necessarily to fall, or did indeed depend upon the Test Act; the Dean's present argument might have some weight: Suppofing the Establishment it self to be really Unalterable. But fince, upon Supposition of the taking Part of this Act away, neither the Establishment of the Church would be any other, nor the Security of the Church would be any less, than what they are now; the Argument is not of Importance. For my felf, As the Dean likes the Church it self the better for the Toleration, supposing, to be sure, that its Establishment and Security are rather more Certain, than the Contrary, by means of the Indulgence: So, I contels fels it would be with Me, in the other Cafe; and accordingly, I have pleaded for no alteration of this Test, but upon Supposition that the Alteration would be not only no Damage. but a Real Advantage to this Christian Church. 4. As for his Reproachful Question, If it be permitted for a Private Writer to Speak his Thoughts about the Repeal of fuch Acts, + What Jealousies may not be fomented? and the like; I. I think it beneath a Christian to insist upon this, in a Case in which the Design of Christianity, and an Institution of our Lord himself, are concern'd. We are under an higher Law, than the Law of Men, in all fuch Cases: and whilst We are so, It is not only lawful, but becoming Us, to Speak plainly in Matters of this Nature. 2. Nay, by the Dean's way of Arguing, how great a Crime must it have been, and what terrible Jealoufies and Animolities must it have fomented, at the Reformation, for any Christian to have been so bold as to Speak of the Repeal of those Laws which hinder'd almost all the Genuine Effects even of Christianity it self? If fomenting of Jealousies, be a good Argament to a Christian against speaking his Thoughts; Popery, nay Heathenism, ought to have reremained the Establishment of this Nation; and to have been left in free and undisturbed 3. This way of arguing does the less become Him, because it absolutely contradicts the general Position which He laid down

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a very few Pages before, viz. 'That the ' Ecclesiastical Establishment Ought to be a-' greeable to the Sense of the Nation: 'Which implies in it a Right in the Members of this Nation to declare their Sense about it. if the Establishment it self is sometimes thus spoken of, by the Dean; certainly We may have the liberty of Speaking what we think of a Law, which touches not the Establishment 4. He himself will + not say that the Legislature is tied up from All Alterations of fuch Laws; tho' declared Unalterable. if it be not; it can be no Crime to lay some Considerations' before Them, and the World, in this Case, as it has been done, and is daily done, in many others. 5. The Dean affures Us here that the Kirk of Scotland enjoys the like Security with the Church of England; or that there are Two Ecclesiastical Constitutions of this one Realm, both equally declared Unalterable; and both inviolably to be preserv'd. Now, there is No Test Act relating to the Kirk of Scotland: and yet that Kirk enjoys the like Security with our Church, by the Act now before Us. Therefore, the Test Att in particular could not be accounted, in the Act refer'd to necessary to the Security of One Church; whilst at that very time All provision was made for the Security of he other Church, without supposing such a particular Test Act necessary for that End. The Dean indeed has written a Book, to shew the Rea-

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formists in all Countries from Offices; and confequently, of Excluding in Scotland all who like the Church of England better than the Kirk. This is a Glory to Him: whilst it is a Reproach to Me, to contend against All such False Security, as invades the Rights of All Men Equally in several Seasons, and several Circumstances; and all such Security as debases an Institution of Christ's to other purposes than Those for which alone He ordain'd it.

I have now consider'd, at length, the First of his Main Questions: and must leave every Christian Reader, and every Good Subject, to examine what I have faid; to compare every particular of it, on one hand with the Genius, Design, and Great Law of the Gospel with respect to the Mutual Duties of Mankind; and on the other hand with the True and Just Foundations of all humane Governments, and all Humane Laws. And then, let Him judge of the whole, as He finds it. Of the Second Main Question I have been unavoidably led to drop feveral things, as I have pass'd; because it was necessary to keep something of it in the Readers Mind; and the Argument fometimes required it. But I must now Speak of it a little more particularly and distinctly.

CHAP. III.

In which the Second of the Dean's Two Main Questions, is particularly confider'd.

SECT. I.

The Second Question, as stated by the Dean; with a Short Remark upon it.

THE Second Question, (in the Dean's 'own Words, *) is this. Supposing it to be right to put Offices of Power and Trust into the Hands of such only as are well-affected to the Ecclesiastical Establishment; whether it be lawful to require of any Man, who is willing to accept such an Office, that He should communicate with the Church establish'd; and particularly, that he should receive the Sacrament according to the Rites and Usage of it, in order to prove his Com-

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In order to resolve this Question in the Affirmative, He lays down several Observations, which I must consider in the Order, in which they lie. Only first, as we pass, I may observe that This is not exactly the State of the Case in England. For, even since the Occasional Act was made, as a Guard (we are told) to the Test Act, the Man named to an Office is not obliged, in or-

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^{*} P. 65.

der to the Possession of it, to communicate with the Church Established, as the Dean has all along understood this Phrase; that is, to communicate with It, so as not to worship God, or receive the Communion, in any other manner than that Establish'd; but only not to perform these Duties publickly, whilst privately He is allowed to perform them in his own Way. And then, He is fo far from being required by this last Act, (tho' made to explain and guard his Obligations,) to receive the Sacrament according to the Rites of the Established Church, in order to prove his Communion with it; (as the Dean puts it;) That this very Act supposes Many Persons to be well-qualified for Offices, who like Another Church better; who do not fo much as pretend constantly to communicate with the Established Church's and gives them an Express Allowance to follow what They like better in private, without the Forfeiture of Their Office.

But since the Dean has been pleas'd to put the Case even worse than it is, and to undertake the Desense of it, in his own Way; I shall follow: And then lay it before any one to judge, 'Whether it be lawful, or agreeable to the Nature of Christianity, to make the Holy Sacrament; (an Institution of our Blessed Lord's, ordain'd solely for the Remembrance of his Death, and the Purposes of his Religion;) to be the Instrument of Conveyance of the Offices of this World to Insidels as well as Christians; and the Means of Excluding from

from the same Offices some particular Christians, who are good Civil Subjects.

SECT. II.

The Dean's Observations, for the Desense of this Branch of his Cause, consider'd.

THE Dean's Observations for the Resolution of the foregoing Question, I shall now examine.

1. He observes that 'The Test Act obliges' No Man to receive the Sacrament.' It is very true. It only obliges a Man, either to receive the Sacrament in one particular Manner, at one particular Time; or to forfeit all his Right to any Office; and all his Hopes of Worldly Preferment. This is not a Natural Necessity, I own. But it is certainly a Moral Necessity; such a Necessity as generally proves irresistible to the Worst of Men, who have least Right either to Offices themselves, or to this particular Means of coming into them. The Dean is sensible enough of this. For,

2. He says, 'It (the Test Act) may, and I doubt too often does, prove a Temptation to a Man to do, what otherwise he would not chuse to do. But for such Insincerity the Receiver, and not the Law-maker, is to answer.' The Dean need not methinks, here express this with any manner of Doubt, when He has given Us an Account before * of

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Great Abuses of this Institution; of Men's happroaching it merely to answer the Letter of this Law, without any Piety or Devotion, or true Sense of what they are doing : and affured us that He himself sees These Abuses. But now it feems, He has forgot this; and only doubts about it. We see therefore, that He might have faid that the Test Act, to his own Knowledge and Eye-fight, proves a Temptation to many Men, not only to do what otherwise They would not chuse to do; (as He now, with the greatest Indulgence of Style, expresses it:) but to do what is very wicked: to abuse This Holy Institution; to approach it without any true Sense of what They are doing; and the like. But this it feems is Nothing to Those who lay this Temptation, this strong Temptation, in Mens Way. He can with one flight Stroke of his Pen tefolve this Case otherwise than ever St. Paul did.

But for such Insincerity (says he) the Receiver and not the Law-maker is to answer. Now this is either a Turn of the Question from its true state; Or very disagreeable to the Christian Solution of such Cases. If by Insincerity here, he means merely that General Insincerity which a Man must be supposed to have, who can act such a Part without any Remorse, or Thought of his Duty; it is true, that for this particular Fault in another, that Other only is answerable. But the Fault of laying this Temptation, is not the Receiver's Fault. It is a Point wholly distinct from what

what He himself is guilty of. The Dean here, according to his customary Eavour, is good enough to drop something to set against his own Affertions. He owns this to be a Temptation. If so; this Temptation is laid, not by the Receiver, but by Persons distinct from Him, Supposing therefore, that the Receiver be answerable for his own Insincerity; there remains another Point: and that is, the laying a Temptation of so fatal, known, and natural an Effect, as this. And for this other Point, which in this fhort Line or two is wholly overlook'd, no one can be answerable but They who first laid it, and they who wilfully continue it. The Dean, who never forgets to mix his Good Sense with his Bad Cause, was so senfible of This, that, in the very next Words, he directs us again towards the Truth.

to lay Stumbling-Blocks in the Way of our Brethren.' He might have added, Nor Incitements and Allurements for Infidels and Debauchees to come and partake of the Communion amongst Christians. But this he forgets. Let us confine our selves to his own
Words; and we may comfort our selves still,
that he cannot maintain his own Cause, against his own express Allowances. For if
we ought not to lay Stumbling-Blocks in the
Way of our Brethren; and this is a StumblingBlock; (as He in effect owns, and as all the
World knows;) then the Law-makers have done
what they ought not to have done, in laying

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this Stumbling-Block. And for this certainly, which is their Act and Deed, They are anfwerable just as much as Others are for their own Fault, who wilfully fall into Sin; or who are (in the Dean's Words) induced by this 'to do what They would not otherwise chuse to 'do.' In the Cafe of laying Stumbling-Blocks, and of falling by them, there is always a Fault on both Sides: and to be answer'd for by Both Parties concern'd. And methinks, it is not the Part of a Christian Divine to take off all Blame entirely from the strong Side, and to lay it on the weak. St. Paul did quite otherwise: and seems to have laid much the greater Weight upon Those who are strong; and to press it as their Duty not to lay Stumbling-Blocks in the Way of the weaker.

I must here, in Justice to the Dean, look back to what he fays, p. 21. viz. That 'as the Laws requiring the Sacramental Test do not make Men wicked and profane; for e neither will removing those Laws make them Pious or Holy.' If this were truly the Point, even according to his own stating it in other Places; or if it were not a dextrous Change of it, and a fubtle Conveyance of one thing for another; it would indeed be of Importance against Changing a Law, to urge that fuch Change would not remedy the Evil complain'd of. The Point therefore is, What was the Evil complain'd of. He himfelf fays that Abuses have been introduced to the Lord's Table; that He sees them; that Men

Men come thither without any True Sense of what they are doing. This is One of the Evils complain'd of. If you ask how They come to do thus, He himself answers, " Merely to fatisfy the Letter of these Laws." Here is the Source of this particular Evil. What therefore, can be the Remedy? Remove these Laws; and the Consequence must necessarily be that these Abuses and Profanations which He affures Us are introduced 'Mere-'ly to fatisfy the Letter of these Laws' must vanish. For when an Evil arises merely from One fole Occasion: take away that Occasion; and the Evil, arising from it, must disappear. Thus again, the Dean acknowledges a Temptation put before Men, which proves to Many, too strong an Inducement to Sin; and a Stumbling-Block laid in the Way, over which Men fall. From whence it follows That, upon Removing this Temptation, and upon taking away this Stumbling-Block, these particular Sins and Fallings, which are owing to this Temptation, and this Stumbling-Block, must cease and be no more.

This is the Point affirmed. But for the Dean, after having himself stated those Abuses which are owing merely to the fulfilling the Letter of these Laws, and those Instances of Impiety or Profaneness, which come into the View of the World from that Cause only; to change the Terms; and to tell us that 'these Laws do not Make Men wicked and profane; and therefore, the removing of them will not S 4

make them pious or holy; is very extraordinary, and can ferve only for Inobservant or Resolved Readers. As if the Complaint had been that these Laws were the Occasion of All Impiety! The Evil complain'd of, which He himself stated in part, is owing to these Laws; what would not be seen, or thought of, but merely to fulfil these Laws: And therefore, take away thefe: Laws; and this Evil, owing to them, must vanish, because All Temptation to it will then be taken a-But no one was ever fo weak as to way. argue that All Evil, or All Impiety, would vanish with them; but that Those Abuses, which the Dean himself sees to arise from these Acts, will vanish. And therefore, It was not at all to the Purpose of the Objection, to tell Us quite another Matter, first in general, about Impiety; and then in particular, that it is the Wickedness of the 'Receiver that calls for Correction*;' when the Point is this, that, upon removing these Acts, there will be No such Wicked Reteivers, as, He has affured Us, come to the Lord's Table in a very Indecent Manner, 'mere-'ly to fatisfy the Letter of these Laws;' and confequently will not come to it, when that fole Occasion of their coming is removed. But to return,

4. The Dean, having acknowledged that the Test Act is the Temptation to these Abuses; and that 'We ought not to lay Stumbling-

Blocks in the Way of our Brethren; is not yet willing that We should have too much Satisfaction in fuch Concessions. And therefore, before He will end this Sentence, He will stiff defend the putting this Temptation, and laying this Stumbling-Block in the Way, by another subtle Conveyance; or by changing the Point of Sight entirely. 'But, (says He) the Legislature consider the receiving the Sacrament according to the Rites of the Church of England, not only as Lawful, but as Commendable in a Christian; and therefore They can in No SENSE be charged with tempting Men to Sin.' * An Argument! by which I will undertake, against all Mankind, that there can be no fuch Thing in the World, as laying a Stumbling-Block in the Way of Men; and that St. Paul might have spar'd all his Zeal upon that Subject. For thus the Argument stands,

Our Legislators Ought Not indeed to lay a Temptation to Sin, a Stumbling-Block,

in the Way of their Brethren.

But our Legislators Consider the receiving the Sacrament according to the Church-Form, not as a Stumbling-Block, but as a Thing commendable in all Christians.

'Therefore, They are in No Sense guilty of laying a Stumbling-Block in the Way of their Brethren: because whosoever consider What they require of Any Persons, as a Com-

mendable Thing in a Christian, do by Virtue of this Consideration of it in that view, change the Nature of the thing; and turn That, which is indeed, otherwise a Stumbling-Block, into a very Righteous and Commendable Matter.

Thus in France, or Spain, or any Popish Countries, 'The Legislature of Spain confider the Profession and Worship of Popery as a Matter not only lawful, but commenda-

ble in all Christians: And

Therefore, can in No Sense be charged with Tempting Men to Sin, by enacting that Profession and Worship, upon the severest Penalties; which would indeed otherwise be a Tempting Men to Sin, and laying a Stumbling-Block in their Way. It may be added here likewise, that as such Laws 'do not make Men Wicked by professing what They do not believe, but only are the Occasion of shewing their Wickedness; so, neither would the removing such Laws make Them Good and Pious: as the Dean argues.

Thus likewise, with respect to the Kirk of Scotland, The Legislature considers the Confession of Faith and Worship of it, as commenble in All Christians, in that Part of the Island:

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Therefore, a Test Act made to oblige in that Country, according to their Form, could be No Stumbling-Block for any Lover of the Church of England; because the Legislators would then be supposed to consider receiving the Sacrament according to the Form of that Kirk, as not

as not only lawful, but commendable in All Christians beyond the Limits of England.

Thus may the Leaders of All Parties a-muse themselves, whilst they are inventing Distinctions to guard Themselves against the plainest Arguments: and whilst They are endeavouring to find out how near They may come to Sin without sining; how far They may run from the Condescension and Forbearance and Charity of the Gospel, and yet meet with

fome Defense to hang upon.

But not thus St. Paul. He took the direct contrary Method. Happy indeed, had it been for the Dean's Argument in this Passage, if that Great Apostle had so understood either the Genius of the Gospel, or the Doctrine of turning Stumbling-Blocks into Commendable and Praiseworthy Things. He was an Apostle; and as fuch, had more Superiority than Any fince his Days can pretend to. He knew that the Liberty of eating Meats without Distinction, was not only Lawful to be exercised by All Chrifians rightly instructed; but a Commendable Thing, and for the Interest of the Gospel it felf. He could have declared his Mind, and instructed all Christians in this. But He did not think that any Notions of his own were thus to be made the Rule of All Men's Conduct; and chose to let Charity triumph in the midst of such Differences of Judgment. Finding that what was commendable in it felf, was made a Stumbling-Block to Others, and only an Occasion to them to stretch their own C021Consciences; He did not argue that He was not answerable for their Insingerity, or for their not acting up to their own Judgments. He did not argue that this was commendable in Christians; and therefore, fit to be made into a Law for all equally. He did not argue that fuch Lams were Good and Righteous, hecause They did not make Men Wicked by Force; or that He would be in No SENSE guilty of tempting others to fin, even by making a Law for them in this Case. So far from all this, that he would not fo much as use his own Christian Liberty, whilft He faw Others, who were not yet fully fatisfied about it, falling and finning by means of fuch a Stumbling-Block as his Example. An Example! which alone may teach the Dean, That, after He had in the beginning of this Sentence, declared the Obligation which lies upon All 'not to lay Stumbling-Blocks in the Way of their Bre-' thren,' He ought not in the latter Part of it, to have rack'd his Invention for a Change of Phrases, which might throw a Veil over one of the most noble Doctrines of Christianity; and render it as wholly Ineffectual, and Useless, as if it had never been once spoken of in the New Testament, or in the least implied in the Comprehensive Duty of Universal Charity. For if any One now has a mind to evade the Force of this Law of the Gospel; let him but first acknowledge, in Words, his Obligation not to lay Stumbling-Blocks in the Way of his Brethren; and then, Let him but declare that

that he is resolv'd not to consider the Matter in Debate as a Stumbling-Block, but as Lawful and Commendable in All Christians: and, if the Dean's Argument here has any Weight in it, He may be very secure that his Considering it under that View, can at any time turn it from Sin into Virtue; from a Point unworthy of a Christian, into a Point of Ho-

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ri All this I have faid, upon the Supposition of what He here affirms, that 'the Legislature confider the receiving the Sacrament according to the Rites of the Church of England not only as Lawful, but as Commendable, in a 'Christian;' and have shewn that, granting this to be true, their Considering a Point under this View, cannot alter the Nature of the Thing, or turn it from Bad into Good. But, to shew how little Care there is in Reality, to be more accurate than Others, even where there are the greatest Complaints of Want of Accuracy in stating of Facts; and to observe how Weak an Argament must be, which is weak in every View; I will remark here farther, that the Cafe is far otherwise than it is here represented. For the Legislature is so far from considering the receiving the Sacrament according to the Rites of the Church of England, as Commendable in a Christian; that is, as Commendable in All Christians; that Our Law-makers knew, at the time of making the Test Act, (as the Dean confesses) that Many Christians thought it Unlawful: in Whom there-

fore, They could not think it Commendable to do it. Nay, It was not their Design that such Profess d. Christians, the Papists for Instance, should receive it in this Manner, but be excluded from Offices by means of this: and the Dean's Argument, in the former Part of his Book, is taken from hence, That it is not Commendable in Any Christians, who are not even full of Affection for the whole Ecclesiastical Constitution, to receive the Sacrament in the Church; because such receiving is always understood to imply in it that Great Affection. How then is it possible for Him to say that the Legislators, in making this Law, consider'd the receiving in one particular Manner, as a Thing Commendable in a Christian; when They knew many Christians, in whom They knew it not to be Commendable; and whom They intended to exclude: and when the Dean himself represents Them, considering it as a Practice very unbecoming any but Constant Communicants, and breaking in upon the Security of an Act of Parliament. Add to this, That, in continuing this Test Act, and explaining and guarding it by the Occasional Act, Our Legislators are so far from considering the receiving the Sacrament according to the Rites of the Church of England, as Commendable in All Christians, in the Sense in which the Dean has all along supposed Them to intend it; (viz. in that manner, and in no other;) that They have evidently supposed it not to be Commendable in some, whom They still leave capable of Offices,

fices, with an Allowance of using other Forms in private. So that here I have shewn that the Fact is not truly stated, upon which the Argument wholly relies; and therefore, that the Argument cannot be good. And I have before shewn that, supposing this Fact to be truly stated, the Argument is of no Weight

even upon that Supposition.

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Nor indeed is this the whole Case: tho' the Dean almost always forgets other Parts of it. For the Legislators knew that there were not only Christians concern'd in this Affair; but that there were Infidels and Debauchees, who would claim their Share of the Offices of this World. And tho' They might confider receiving the Sacrament, as a Commendable thing in a Christian; yet it is impossible They should consider it as such in an Insidel, or Debauchee: As it is, that this Argument can justify the making This Institution the Instrument of such Perfons possessing Civil Offices. This was one known, expected, unavoidable Effect of this Act. And till the Dean justifies This, by some other Topic than the Parallel of Qaths in Courts of Judicature; He cannot be faid to have consider'd this Second Question, as He ought; or to have given any Proof of his Main Point.

As for this Piece of a Paragraph now before Us, which begins his Defense of the Sacramental Test; perhaps there is not a Parallel to be found to it, in any Words of so short a Compass, thro' the Dean's own Works. For every Sentence is here destroy'd by the following:

Or, the Beginning of Every Sentence is cluded by the End of the fame; and the Legislature condemn'd and acquirted; acquirted and condemn'd, just as the Words happen'd to come forth first or last. For Instance, t. The Test 'Ma obliges No Man to receive the Sacrament. But, 2. It too often proves a Temptation to a Man to do it, even against his Judgment: which is all the Obligation or Necafity, any one ever imagin'd it to carry with it. Again, 1. The Test Act too often proves a Temperation to Men to do what They would onet otherwise do, in the Dean's present Phrase; bue, in a former, to Abuse the Holy Sacrament, and to be guilty of what He himself laments. But for fear this should press hard upon the Legistaire, It is added immediately, 2. The Receiver is to answer for such Insinterity, and not the Law-maker.

Thus the Dean thinks, He has cover'd the Law-maker, at least from the Sight of Men: as if, because the Law-maker is not answerable for the Infincerity of the Receiver, therefore He is not answerable for his own Fault in laying in the Receiver's Way an effectual Tempration; known to be fo; by which He is led to fuch a Practice, in fo facred an Instance. The first Part of the Sentence plainly implies an Impatation upon the Legislators. And the Latter, instead of removing it, declares that the Lawmaker is not to answer for quite another Point, which does not belong to Him; without fo much as mentioning what does belong to Him. The

The Dean acknowledges that He lays a Temptation; but he would hide his Obligation to answer for laying this Temptation, by declaring that He is not answerable for something else. Again, 1. We OUGHT NOT indeed to lay Stumbling-Blocks in the Way of our Bre-'thren.' The Legislature consequently, OUGHT Not unnecessarily to enact what is declared in the Sentence before to be a Temptation to Sin; because This is a Stumbling-Block. notwithstanding this OUGHT NOT, which feems an express Condemnation of Them; 2. They may, for all this, lay a Thousand Stumbling-Blocks, and a Thousand effectual Temptations to fin, in the Way of their Brethren; if They will but be fo cunning, as to avoid all the Guilt of this, by CONSIDERING the Action they Ordain, as Lawful and Commendable in All Christians. Their Considering it so, like the Romish Priest's Intention in the Sacrament, Shall turn a Stone of Offense into Bread; and Bread into the Natural Body of Christ: Or, which is no less a Miracle, What is otherwise a Great Sin, into a Noble Virtue. Thus, In the first Words of the Sentence, They are in effect acknowledg'd to do what They OUGHT NOT to do. But in the next, They are declar'd, by their Inward Arbitrary Consideration, and Wonderworking Intention, to turn This same thing into what they OUGHT to do. Let Us proceed now to Other Points.

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SECT. III.

The Dean's Argument from the Use of Oaths, and from Religion's being made a Civil Test, consider'd.

HE Dean takes occasion here to urge that My Objection against the Sacramental Test is more general, viz. founded upon this, that Religion ought not to be a Civil Test. 'In an-' fwer to which (fays He) I told Him that Re-' ligion is the Test, whenever an Oath is re-' quired. His Lordship, in his Reply, Would ' SEEM to deny this: and in order to it, [viz. in order to the denying it] has so confounded the Terms of the Question, Gr. * Now, as any Reader may see, by the Dean's own Words, that He himself is conscious I have not denied this: So, if He will look into My Reply, He will see that I have been so far from confounding the Terms of the Question, that I have distinctly laid down the Sense in which an Outh may be call'd Religion; and shewn the Unconclusiveness of the Argument from the Use of Oaths in Civil Affairs, to the Enacting the Receiving the Sacrament as an Instrument of Worldly Preferments. However, I have given the Dean an Opportunity of shewing his Accuracy; in a Case which is little to the Purpose; after having shewn his Dexterity, in the former Important Branches of the Question; to which it had been much more for his Ser-

vice, to have applied his Exactness. I say, Little to the Purpose. For let Me but grant now that I was mistaken in using the Word Religion, in the most general Extent, in that Position of mine, That Religion ought not to be a Civil Test; and let it be but supposed that I had spoken thus more accurately, That an Institution, peculiar to Our Bleffed Lord's Religion, and confined by Him to the Remembrance of his Death in the Assemblies of Christians, ought not to be made a Civil Test: Or, That What is a peculiar Part or Mode of the Religious Worship of some particular Christians, ought not to be made a Test to exclude Other Christians out of Offices: Had I spoken thus, I might indeed have guarded My felf from much of the Dean's Ridicule; but I should then have rob'd the World of much of his Pains, and of the most accurate, as well as Insignificant, Part of his Labour.

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But when I was not in Truth writing an Accurate Treatise upon the Subject; when the Subject was started by Accident, and introduced by Dr. Snape into the Body of Another Debate; when I only said a Word, en passant: Methinks I might have the Liberty to partake of the Common Unaccuracy of Writers; which I am sensible I must be content to do, even when I design to be more careful and exact. Nor needs the Dean to make it the subject of his Sport, that I affirm'd that by Religion I meant the Sacramental Test, or the like; because, if He will give himself leave to look back to the Occasion, and the

the Words themselves; He will find that I could in Truth mean nothing else. I was then debating a Point with Dr. Snape; and I was wondering at His particular Zeal for the Sacramental Test: Upon which Occasion, I express'd his Zeal for that, by his Zeal for making Religion a Civil Test. Now, as He had declared Himself not in this general Way of speaking, but in a more particular Manner, for the making or continuing the Sacrament as a Civil Test; and as my Words referr'd folely to the Doctor's particular Declaration; it is evident that in those Words My Intention was only to express my self against what He had faid, and not against what he had not faid; and that by Religion, in my Proposition applied to Him, I could mean nothing but a particular Branch of the Christian Institution. and the particular Mode belonging to it, peculiar to the Church of England, distinguish'd from other Churches. But tho' this be fully sufficient for the Explication of my Sense in that Passage; yet, I am very free to own that, if the Dean can, with all his Art, shew that the Humane Appointment of Oaths in Civil Cases, is parallel with the Humane Appointment of the Participation of the Communion, for Civil Purposes; this ought to have its Weight with I will only pre-Me, in this Argument. mise, that He shall not force it upon Me, as if I had laid the Stress of my Argument, where I laid none; or as if I had argued against the Sacramental Test upon this general Topic, That nothing which might properly, in some Sense or other, other, be call'd Religion, ought to be a Test in Civil Affairs; or an Instrument of Civil Interest. This was never My Argument: but his own Invention put upon Me, instead of what He could not so easily consute as this Imagination

of his own. To return,

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What I have faid now, is a Full Answer to his Account of Religion, and of the Religion of an Oatb; of a Test, and a Civil Test; and the like Points, which He professes to explain here *. For He acknowledges t, that this is to shew that My Objection from the NATURE of Reli-' gion in general is not good.' Now, As I never once made an Objection against the Sacramental Test, from the NATURE of Religion in general: As I only happen'd to use the Word Religion, upon the Occasion I have now related; which very Occasion, I have shewn, determin'd My Meaning: As, in my Answer to the Dean's Allegations, I explained to the full my Meaning; and never once denied, but indeed expresly affirmed, that an Oath was founded upon the Supposition of Trust and Fear, with respect to One or more Superior Beings, which is the Religion He here speaks of: As He himfelf could not bring his Pen in one Passage **, to fay any more than that I WOULD SEEM to deny it: The least that can be faid of this is, That it is a Proceeding, worthy of Him only, who could come, by degrees, against Eye-sight, and the plainest Declaration to the contrary, to charge Me, at last, with | Writing down the Religion of Oaths; and to enter into my very Heart,

^{*} P. 68, 69, &c. † P.72. ** P. 66. ‡ P. 115. and

and affirm that I did it for this only Reason, because it stood in My Way; and so to introduce, by such Steps, a still more Gross Imputation: of which the World has heard too much already.

However, tho' I have never denied that an Oath was Religion, or founded upon Religion; yet, I must say something to what follows about the Sacramental Test, and the Application

of the Dean's Principles to This,

SECT. IV.

The Dean's Argument, drawn from his foregoing Account of Oaths, in Favour of the Sacramental Test.

THE Dean is sensible that, notwithstanding his General Considerations about the Nature of Religion, and of Oaths, it remains to be considered in particular, whether there be any thing in the Institution of the Sacrament that makes it unlawful for the Govern-

" ment to use it as a Test *."

His Defense here, is founded upon what He has said before, in stating the True Parallel between the Case of Oaths in Civil Causes, and of the Sacramental Test: With respect to which latter, He lays down these Two Propositions.

1. 'We are obliged to receive the Sacrament in the Church of Christ, in Obedience to an Institution of Christ; and consequently we are

fupposed to be in Communion with That vifible Part of the Church, with which We re-'ceive the Sacrament.' 2. With respect to the Magistrate; 'When He requires the Sacramental Test, He lays hold of the Obligation We are under to communicate with that ' Church, which we efteem to be a True Part of the Church of Christ; and grounds the 'Test on it *.' This being the State of the Matter according to Him; He goes on to defend the Legislature in enacting the Sacramental Teft, as only 'drawing a just Consequence from feeing a Man do an Actenjoined by Christ;' Or. at worst, as only ' concluding from a Man's receiving the Sacrament in the Church of England. that he is in Communion with the Church of England? This he affirms, 'is all the Use ' that the Government makes of the Sacrament, ' consider'd as a Test :' tho' He will presently tell Us that 'the Intent was to keep Diffenters out of the State: Which I think is Another Use, something distinct from only concluding Those who do receive in the Church, to be Constant Members of it; for it adds to this. Two Conclusions more, even according to Him-1. That these latter are fit for Civil Offices; and, 2. That All Others are not fo. After this, at the end of the Paragraph, He 'puts the Whole that he has to say in Justification of the Laws, upon this Issue, viz. that the Laws now in Force do not require any Man to receive, otherwise than a Member of the Church of England ought to receive, when

not call'd upon by those Laws; or with any View or Purpose of Heart contrary to the Gospel: only desiring Me not to charge the

Law with the Hypocrify and Guilt of such, as, I know, despite the Laws of God and

Man?

In which Defense, There are hardly more Words, than there are Mistakes of the Case before us.

1. I will observe, with respect to this Desire of his at last, that it is again a Turning the Reader's Thoughts from the True, to a Falle, State of the Charge made against what the Dean defends. I will not charge the Law with the Hypocrify and Guilt of Those who despise the Laws of God and Man. But I will ever charge a Law with being the Occasion of Those Profanations and Abules, of which, the Dean himself assures Us, Men are feen to be guilty, merely in order to fatisfy the Letter of that Law. If a Law makes it necessary for Infidels and Debauchees to come to an Institution of Our Blessed Lord's; and to partake of the Communion; or else to forfeit all Title to the Posts and Offices of this World: tho' this Law be not chargeable with their Infidelity or Wickedness; yet it is chargeable with that Abuse and Profanation of an holy Institution, which would not be thought of, but merely to satisfy the Letter of this Law. This the Dean never once pretends so much as to mention: but artfully ever turns into something Take away fuch Laws, and this Profanation And the Infidelity of Men should remain, it will not shew it self at the Communions of Christians; or introduce any of those Abuses into them, of which the Dean himself complains so grievously. This will lead us to ob-

ferve,

2. That it is easy to answer the Dean's Challenge, when He calls upon Me to shew that these Laws REQUIRE any Man to receive with any View, or Purpose of Heart, centrary to the Gospel.' For it is evident that these Laws lay a Necessity upon an Infidel to receive the Sacrament, or to forfeit his All; and are the fole Occasion of such Men's coming to a facred Institution, who have not one View, or one Purpose of Heart, becoming a Christian, confider'd as a Christian. And if Laying such a Necessity, be Nothing in the Dean's Eyes; if this be not perverting the End of Christ's Institution, in his Opinion; I am certain He could as well defend these Laws, if They did in express Words REQUIRE such a Behaviour: the Difference being only this; that They do not in Words REQUIRE it; but in Words They make it so necessary, that it is, and ever will be feen, as the Dean expresses himself, merely in order to satisfy the Letter of these Laws, as long as they continue in Which, I affirm, is a terrible and Force. moving Consideration in all Cases, in which the absolute Necessity of Humane Society cannot be pleaded, against such a Consequence. And upon upon this Account, it is another Instance of a Dextrous Change of the Question, for the Dean to talk of the Laws Requiring an Indecent Behaviour in any Men: when it is fully sufficient to a Christian, that They are the Sole Occasion of Crying Abuses, (as He himself owns;) and this, without any absolute Necessity.

3. Another of his Allegations is, that These Laws do not require any Man to receive otherwife, than a Member of the Church of England ought to receive, when not called upon by them. But I have shewn that, tho' They do not in Words require it; yet, They do in Words make it necessary for Those, who are Members of no Christian Church, to receive the Sacrament. And as to Those who are Members of our Church, or any other, They do make it necessary and unavoidable for them to remember, not only the Love of Christ, but the Love and Favour of an Earthly Prince, upon Occasion of what Christ ordain'd folely for his own Remembrance: They make it neces, fary and Unavoidable to All, who receive upon the Call of an Office, to receive with the Purpose of testifying this in a Temporal Court, and with a View to something of This World, as well as with the Consciousness of a Badge of Distinction between Themselves and Other And if fuch Views and Purposes are not contrary to, as well as different from, the Purposes of Christ's Institution; then Heaven and Earth are not contrary to one another: as I have, in the former part of the Book, explain'd

plain'd this Point. And besides This, A Member of the Church of England, receiving the Communion upon the Call of the Test-Ast, knows and feels that He does it upon that Call, with a View to the Possession of a Worldly Post; and as a Member of the Body Politic: But a Member of the same Church, receiving it, when not call'd upon by this Act, receives it voluntarily as a Christian only; not as a Member of a Political Body, but as a Member of Christ's Body, the Universal Church. And if the former Receiving be not otherwise, and with some other Inward Feeling, than the Latter; then All things are alike. And this leads Me to observe,

4. That Receiving the Communion, let it be in what Church it will, and in what Form it will, ought not to be represented as the Test of a Man's being a Member of this particular Church; but of the Universal Church. The Communion is the Memorial of Christ's Death. The Christian Receiver comes to it as a Christian, as a Disciple of Christ; as a Member of his One Body: which is the Universal Church, and not any Particular One. And confequently, To turn this Action, by which Every Christian who performs it, professes himself in Communion with the Whole Church, into a Badge of a Particular part of it; is to turn it from its original and noble Extent, to a very narrow and confined Partiality. The complying with the particular Form, or the doing it in the particular Mode, used or appointed in one particular Place, arises from the Necessity of celebrating

ting it in some particular manner, or other: and implies no more in it necessarily, than that the Communicant thinks that Form or Mode lawful in the Celebration of it. But this implies no Confinement of our Communion; but is only a Particular Manner of doing a Thing, which is, in its Extent, a Communion with the whole Catholic Church. And therefore, tho' the Ufe of these particular Rites does indeed naturally fignify, that the Person (if an honest Christian) thinks it lawful to join in this Form, at this time, to testify his Universal Communion with All Christians; yet this very Use of these particular Rites in the Celebration of the Communion, must be supposed agreeable to the End of the Institution: which never was design'd, and therefore can never naturally fignify, or justly be a Test of, a Man's partial Confin'd Communion; but only of his Extensive and Unbounded Communion, as a Christian at large, or a Member of Christ's Body. And whoever attempts to make the Communion, in what particular Form soever it be celebrated, the Test of a confined and partial Society; attempts to make it the Badge of a Party-man, instead of the Badge of a Christian. Upon this account the Foundation of the Dean's Defense is entirely wrong, when He justifies the Magistrate, by representing Him laying hold of an Action, which naturally fignifies Communion with the Universal Church, as naturally fignifying a Confined Communion with a particular Church: which it cannot possibly do, considered even with the particular Rices and

and Modes of performing it, in that very Church. Whoever communicates in Any particular Manner, in use in any particular Church, communicates with the Whole Church of Christ: nor does the particular Manner of doing it at all alter the Natural Significancy of his Communion; or fo much as suppose that He never communicates in any other Form; or that He likes Every thing in Use in the same Church, in which that Particular Form of Communion is appointed. And therefore, as the Dean allows that the Magistrate cannot make a Natural Significancy where there is none: I hope, the Natural Significancy of a Sacred Institution Will weigh fomething; and shew that He has either greatly injured the Laws, by imputing to Them the Attempt to change this Significancy; or greatly mistaken the Intent of the Institution it felf, by imputing to it such a Significancy as is Inconfistent with its General and Extensive Defign.

the Affair before Us, appears, from what has been faid, to be very much mistaken. For the Magistrate does not 'Draw a Just Consequence from seeing a Man do an Act enjoyned by Christ;' when He concludes from a Man's receiving the Sacrament in the Church of England, that He is a Constant Communicant in This Church only. The Just Consequence from seeing a Man Voluntarily do this Act, consider'd as enjoyned by Christ, without any regard to Humane Laws, is, that this Man

is a Christian; and not, that He is a Churchman, in the Dean's Sense of the Word. The Just Consequence, which alone the Magistrate can draw, from feeing a Man do this same Act, confider'd as a Test, and in order to fulfil a Law of the Land, is, That this Man is legally qualified for an Office, as far as this part of the Law is concern'd. But if the Dean means, that in the very making the Sacrament a Test for Civil Offices, the Sole Design of the Legislature (or Magistrate) was to conclude from a Man's receiving it in the Church, that He was of the Church, as a Constant Communicant; It is so far from being true that This was the Sole Design, that it is evident It could be No part of the Defign: because the Law-makers knew, from the Open Practice of many, that no fuch Conclusion could be drawn; And because It is as evident that there is No Conclusion drawn, from that Act of receiving, by the Legislators, but that Such Communion shall be thought sufficient to entitle to an Office. What therefore is All this to the Justification of our Legislators in this particular? Was it a Point hid from their Eyes, when the Test Act was made, That there were Infidels or Debauchees in the Nation? Was it a Secret, that there were Protestants, who did not scruple Communion with the Church sometimes, who yet were not well-affected to the Ecclesiastical Constitution; or even to Constant Communion? And did the Makers of that Law pretend to lay hold on fuch Persons receiving the Communion in the Church voluntarily, when They They openly ordain'd and commanded it, as a Qualification, without which These Persons should not possess Offices, and with which They should possess them? And is this at all like to the Case, as the Dean represents it? From which one would imagine, that there was No such Law in being: but only that the Magistrate carefully watch'd the Behaviour of Men; observ'd their Piety, and Obedience to Christ; and laid hold on Those, who voluntarily and conscientiously appear to obey Him, as the proper Persons for Employments and Offices. But I have sufficiently answer'd to such Representations as this, before.

6. What the Dean calls the True Parallel † between the Case of Oaths, and the Sacramental Test, will, from what I have said, easily

appear entirely mistaken.

When the Magistrate (fays He) requires an Oath, He lays hold on the Natural Sense and Obligation we are under to believe in, and to fear God; and grounds the Test on Them.

When He requires the Sacramental Test,
He lays hold of the Obligation we are under
to communicate with that Church, which
we esteem to be a True Part of the Church

of Christ; and grounds the Test on It.'

This I say will appear a very Partial and a very Mistaken Parallel, as to any Justification it affords the Magistrate, in the Case before

Us. And I will beg Leave to put it, as follows.

When the Magistrate requires an Oath, for the Purposes of Civil Interest, or in order to possess a Civil Office; He requires a Thing which was never appointed by God, or by Christ, to any other Purpose; a Thing which is in its own Nature peculiarly fitted for the Purposes of this World, upon this very Account, because it supposes, in the Generality of Men, a Fear of some Superior Being, the Avenger of Falshood and Injustice; a Thing which is the only proper Instrument of what it is apply'd to, and in the Application of which, No Partiality, in any Degree, is implied or defigned; and a Thing which, tho' it may be abused by the Wickedness of Men, yet, is the Necessary and perhaps Only Means of the End proposed: Which renders the Law requiring it Just, and not chargeable with Those Abuses.

Now, in the other Case, When the Magistrate, (that is, the Law-maker,) requires the Sacramental Test, in order to the Possession of Civil Ossices; He requires an Action to be done for this worldly Purpose, which our Lord himself has appropriated to Another and a spiritual Purpose; and by such Appointment has in Effect consecrated and dedicated to one sole Use, of quite another Nature, and to quite another End: an Action which has nothing in its Institution, nothing in its Nature, that bears any Relation to the Purposes of Civil Life;

Life; and therefore, is not a proper Instrument of what it is apply'd to: an Action to be perform'd after such a peculiar manner, as implies in it a Distinction to be put by it between Some Civil Subjects, and others equally good Civil Subjects; and makes That an Instrument of Partiality and Animofity, which was ordain'd by Christ as an Instrument of the strictest Union and Affection between All his Followers: an Action, made necessary to the Promotion of Infidels, who have no part in it, and yet must perform it, for that End: An Action, which They, who ordain and continue it for this Purpose, know, must lead to Those Abuses, (which the Dean fays,) He fees and laments: An Adion, neither the Only nor the Proper Security against Any Evils, and confequently, not necessary for that Purpose: Which Consideration makes it impossible to justify a Law which unnecessarily Enacts what naturally and unavoidably leads to fuch Evils.

And now, let any one judge of the Exact Parallel between The Sacramental Test, which is the Use of the Holy Sacrament for Purposes very different from what it was ordain'd for; and the Use of Oaths, which is the Use of what are fit and proper for the Purposes They are appointed for. And if these Considerations are not enough to satisfy Christians; I confess, I shall despair of their being made sensible of Any thing.

SECT. V.

Other Particulars alledged by the Dean, confider'd.

Two Particulars the Dean alledges upon this Subject, † which I must not wholly neglect. One is, 'That the Legislature is blame- less in requiring the Members of the Church of England to receive according to the Rites of the Church of England.' The other is, That 'They intended to require it of No others; 'which He proves from hence, 'That when They found Others did receive it in Consequence of These Laws, They put a Stop to all Temptations to such Abuse of the Law for the suture, by the Occasional Bill.' Thus does the Dean once more, by giving a Wrong Turn to This whole Matter, draw the Attention of the Reader to what has no Part in the Debate. For,

Legislature required Those who are Members of the Established Church, in the Dean's Sense, to receive according to the Rites of that Established Church. And therefore, He plays with his Pen, when He puts such Complaints in the Mouths of his Adversaries. 2. There is no such End proposed, or thought of, in the Test-Ast, as requiring the Members of the Church to receive according to the Rites of the Church. The Rites of the Church were settled before this;

The Members of the Church need no fuch Law, as He now represents this to be. Nor could Any of them, if They would, receive the Sacrament in their own Church, any otherwise, than according to the Rites of that Church. And therefore, It is almost ridiculous to represent the End of this Act, to be the Ordaining That the Members of this Church, who constantly communicate with It, and No other, should communicate according to the manner of this Church; when They cannot possibly communicate in any other manner. 3. The End of it, certainly, was to Exclude Papists from Civil and Military Offices: And the Words used in order to this Main End, include All other Subjects also, who had any Scruples which would not permit Them to communicate after this particular manner; let their other Qualifications, and Excellencies, be what They would. This is the End of the Test-Act. 4. And the Complaint is, Not that some Men are required to receive the Communion in That Way, in which They chuse to do it; and in which alone They can do it in our Church: But that this Holy Institution is at all made Use of for this secular Purpose; as a Wordly Instrument of Qualifying some, even Infidels, for Offices; and shutting out others, who are good Civil Subjetts, from Them. 5. Tho' it be true that this All does not require Those who are not Members of the Church, to receive in the Manner of the Church; yet it is true likewise that it does U 2 require Hinribs.

require them, either to do this, or to forfeit all Title to what is otherwise their Undoubted Right. And whether the Dean can prove This to be No fort of Necessity upon an Insidel; and no fort of Hardfhip upon his Fellow-Christians; has pretty well appear'd before this. 6. It is fo far from being true, that the Occasional-Act defigns to put any Stop to what the Dean calls here an Abufe; (that is, to Perfons receiving the Sacrament, according to the Rites of the Church of England, who like Another Church, and Another Form of Worship, betterthan this;) that this Act it felf supposes such Persons to receive in Our Church; and gives an Express Allowance for their following their own Judgment in private; provided they go not to any Public Meeting, during their Office. 7. Confidering all this, How can the Dean conclude That 'in ALL VIEWS the Legislators are guiltless of the Profanation of the Lord's Supper; when He has not bere confider'd it in any one True View : Nay, when He himself has before declared that 'He fees and laments "these Profanations; that They are owing merely to the fatisfying the Letter of the Laws, which make this Communion the Qualification for an Office: and when He has laid it down as a Rule of Christianity, that WE OUGHT NOT to lay Stumbling-blocks in the Way of our Brethren.

The next Pages are spent in considering this Objection, that the Law requires Clergymen to admit

admit to the Communion fuch as ought not to be admitted; unless they chuse to be ruined for not doing it. I confess, I always imagin'd This to be a Grievance, in the Opinion of All the Clergy in the Land, of All Parties, from the Highest to the Lowest. But the Dean declares My Law to be of my own making, as well as My Divinity: which must be own'd to be too Witty, to admit of any Reply. Concerning this, 1. He argues that This Objection has no Weight, because there are several Other Laws, as That about Tithes, for instance, liable to the same Objection, viz. That it often proves Ruinous to a Clergyman to fue for his Tithes, &c. which Answer, I confess, his Brethren are very much obliged to Him. They have Great Hardships upon Other Accounts, Therefore let this remain. Whereas the Argument ought to be the direct contrary, viz. That supposing Them to have Many other Hardships, there is the greater Reason to release them from This. But all his Force here is spent upon the Supposition that This was used as an Argument against the Justice of the Law, viz. That the Clergy might be put to Trouble and Expense, by it: Whereas, tho' this is indeed an Argument against an Unnecessary Thing; yet the Stress was not laid upon this, but upon the Hazard run by not giving the Communion to Persons utterly unqualified for it. And, 2. Supposing that the Law should be found to justify a Clergyman in not doing this; will this fustification U 3

be an Entire Satisfaction ? And is a Great Trouble and Expense upon such an Account, of no Importance in fuch an Affair, or towards diminishing the Great Justice and Goodness of such a Law? But, 3. The Utmost Comfort that the Dean proposes is, that a Clergyman may be justified in a Court of Judicature by the Rubric, in rejecting a Notorious Offender against the Laws of God, tho that Offender loses an Office by it. This is His Law: and his Divinity for their Comfort is this, viz. That ' until a Sin becomes an Offense to the " Congregation, it does not necessarily call for Open Censure.' This may be mean't for Law too, for ought I know: and if it be, it may be true that, by the Law of the Land, unless a Man be so notorious a Sinner as that his Practice is an Offense to the Congregation, fuch an Open Censure, as refusing to administer the Communion to Him, cannot be justified. So then, a Clergyman is still left to be undone, upon the Occasion of fuch a Refusal unless He can prove, in a legal Way, by legal Evidence, that this Person is guilty of such or such a notorious Practice; and that this Practice is an Offense to the Congregation: in which will be included this Point likewise, what the Congregation is; whether Two or Three, or a Quarter, or Half, or a Majority, or the Whole of it. What a great Comfort must it be, to a poor Curate, to be engaged in fuch a Process, in the Forms of our Law, upon fuch an Occasion! and how ought ought We to be congratulated upon such Happinesses as this, discover'd and defended by the Dean! But if He mean't this for Good Divinity; I fear He will find it hard to prove it to be confistent with the Duty of a Good Clergy-man. For, supposing Him to know certainly that a Person is an Unbeliever, or habitually engaged in a Course of Sin utterly forbid and condemn'd in the Gospel; will this justify Him in owning this Person as a Christian fit for the Communion, merely because the Congregation happens to know nothing of this? Let the Dean try to reconcile this with Truth, and Christianity; remembring that Every Clergy man has a private Conscience, to be satisfied with his own Private Conduct. And from hence let Every Clergyman judge, both of fuch an Advocate as He is; and fuch an Enemy as I am represented to be. Should any good Man be so weak as to think it his Duty not to own Him publickly for a Christian, whom He himself certainly knows not to be One; even the Dean does not pretend to exempt Him from Penalties, and perhaps Ruine: but yet contends still to keep Him under Those Difficulties and Inconveniences; from which I would gladly fet him free.

SECT. VI.

An Examination of the Dean's Answer to the Objection against the Test-Act, drawn from the Bad Influence of Worldly Motives in such Cases.

THE Dean, before He concludes, observes † That ' the Refult of my Reasoning * affords Us another Objection against the ' Test-Act, viz. That it is a Worldly Motive to induce Christians to the same one certain Profession in Religious Matters, and to the same one certain Form of Words and Ceremonies in public " Worship.' This Objection being founded upon what I have said; and being applied to the Test-Att by way of Consequence only from My Doctrine; I am the less concern'd in it, till the Dean has shewn the Consequence to be Just and Necessary. Instead of attempting this, He chuses rather to have Recourse to a very moving Exclamation. 'I would to God (fays " He) it had produced This Effect!' That is, I would to God, (fays a Christian Divine) that Christians had been induced, by a Worldly Motive, to an Universal Uniformity in Sounds, and Gestures, and Ceremonies! For my own Part, I am not ashamed to fay, God forbid! Nor afraid to give the World fuch Reasons as These for faying fo; viz. That the same Worldly Mo-

[†] P. 82. + Answ. to Com. 147, 8.

tive would as certainly, in other Conjunctures, and other Circumstances, make Those who are induced by it, as ready to an Uniformity in the direct contrary Sounds, Gestures, and Ceremonies : That the same Worldly Motive would induce Them to be Papists in Spain, Presbyterians in Scotland, and Mahometans in Turkey: That the same Worldly Motive, consider'd as the Inducement, (which is the Supposition, and the Sole Supposition here, acts Uniformly in one and the same Way, in this Respect, that it knows No other Gods but the Gods of the Country; No other Church, but the Church Established, let it be what it will; No other Religion, but the Religion of the Prince, or Supreme Power; tho it works very differently in regard to the Object, to which it is applied, which is as various, and as Contradictory, as all the feveral Religions and Professions in the World, can be. Let the Dean therefore, have the Glory of Wishing All the Christians of the Southern Part of this Mand, to be induced to Uniformity, in one Way, by the Confideration of Posts and Offices: And let who will wish the same in another Way, for the Northern Part of it. I will use no such Arguments, as bring a Difgrace upon the Caufe They Profess to serve; and really differve it in other Places, as much as They can be supposed to ferve it in this. Much less, will I ever avow fuch Arguments as suppose Religion to be confistent with such Worldly Inducements: Nay, to be the Product of so poor and ignoble a Cause. But

But however this be; the Dean having once declared to the World what his Wish is, lets Me know that ' the All was made for no fuch ' Purpose; that the Intent was to keep Dif-' fenters out of the State, not to force Them ' into the Church.' Did ever Writer thus turn and twift a Question? Would not any one imagine from hence that the Objection had been founded upon the Ad's FORCING Men into the Church; when there has not been a Word faid about Forcing, or any thing like it. And yer, I will be bold to fay that if the Wish, He has just now put up before God, can be defended, upon any one Maxim of Christianity; I say, That All the Force and Torment, used in some Places for the same good Purpose of Uniformity, may also be defended.

The Dean was conscious that it did not touch the Point in Hand, whether it were the very intent of the Test Ast to induce Men to Uniformity; or not: And therefore, He is so good as to state the Objection again, that 'The Effect' is, that Men are tempted, by this Ast, to Outward Conformity, and are made Hypocrites. I allow it (Says He) to be so—No Man ought to have a Temptation to Hypocrify laid in his way: True still; and his Lordship might know, that to prevent this, was one Reason of the Occasional Bill.' How I could know this, It is impossible to tell: when I see and know that this very Occasional Ast no more prevents, or attempts to prevent it, than the

Test

Test Att it felf; but makes an express Provision for Those, whom alone the Dean can point out by the Kind Appellation of Hypocrites; that, notwithstanding their greater Affection to Another Church, They shall be entitled to their Offices, upon their receiving the Communion once in our Church; and an express Allowance for their performing the Offices of Religion in private, in their own way. How a Writer of fuch Skill in Law and Divinity, as to move Him to look down with Contempt upon Others, can thus deal both with Law and Divinity himself; as to affirm That to be the Intent of the Law, which is contradicted in the whole Design, and plainest Words of it; and to treat That as Hypocrify, which is known to be confiftent with the highest Sincerity; - Let Them account for this, who can.

But (the Dean proceeds) * tho' all fuch Hypocrify cannot be prevented; yet confider, Are They who encourage Virtue and True

Religion answerable for the Hypocrify of Those who will pretend to Virtue and Reli-

gion, in order to share in the Encouragement, &c. - And this to shew that My

Objection against the Test has no weight in it; and that it will be lawful to do right, not-

withstanding that some perhaps make a

Wrong Use of our so doing't. Now as the only Difficulty of answering in such Cases, ari-

fes from the Change of Words, and Substitution of some Phrases for others, every Step wetake; to there will be nothing wanting here, but to remark this a little more distinctly than Every Reader can give himself time to do, or be always inclined to do, when He finds the Words running fmoothly on. When the Dean can prove that External Uniformity, procured by Worldly Motives, is Virtue and True Religion; that a Bodily Presence at a particular Form of Worship, procured by the hope of a Worldly Reward, is the Worship of God in Spirit and Truth; that any Outward Action, perform'd upon such a Motive, can be Virtue, or Religion: Then, He may justify to the Laws of Common Sense and Justice, his Subtle Conveyance of the words Virtue, True Religion, and Worship of God, into the place of External Uniformity, Bodily Presence at Church, and Outward Actions; and I may be brought to acknowledge, that to encourage these Latter, is to encourage the Former. In the mean while, As it is to these Latter alone, that the Eyes and Rewards of Men, and Magistrates, can reach: Whatever may be faid, upon other Accounts, on the fide of any Encouragement due to Them, and Difcouragement to the contrary; yet I beg leave to think the very Boundaries of Right and Wrong, Good and Evil, removed and altered, when Appearances, procured by Worldly Motives, are made to stand for Realities, built upon Nobler Principles within, or conducted by a fleady Belief of a Figure State. But, as the Dean here threatens that 'There will be Occasion Sometime of other, to recall my General Principle to Examination'; I will also refer what may be farther said, to that Future Occasion.

CONCLUSION.

Have now distinctly consider'd the Dean's Arguments, first, for the Exclusion of Good Civil Subjects from Offices, merely upon account of their Disaffection to a Church-Establishment; or rather of their Leffer Degree of Affection for One Church, than for Another : and then, for employing to this Secular Purpose, the Communion; a Sacred Institution of our Lord himself, appointed for Another purpose, wholly relating to Another World. And if I have omitted any one Particular; I am very certain, it is included in Some Other Main Part of the Debate; and that my Thoughts and Reasonings about it; may be as well known, as if I had distinctly applied Them to it. I have shewn that His Account of our Establishment is shameful to the Protestant Cause; and contradictory to the Rights of All Christians, and to the Principles of the whole Reformation: That his most Plausible Arguments for Exclusive Laws, upon Religious Considerations, drawn from Self-

01 b' #1 P. 84. 1011

defense, or Former Behaviour of Predecessors hurt the Church of England it felf in other Plant ces, Times, and Circumstances, as much as They' can pretend to help it here, now o That they justify the Heathens Exclusion of Christians w the Papists Exclusion of Protestants; and the Worst of Protestants Exclusion of the Best, from All Offices, whenever Rower may be in their Hands: That they go much farther, and justify as well as Encourage, by natural just Confequence, (tho' not so defign'd) the Self-defense of Queen Mary against the Protestants of this Church of England it self, exercised in the most cruel manner; the Self defense of the Bittereft. Persecutions exercised by Heathens against Christians; the Banishments, Fines, Imprison ments, and Gallies, applied in France, as Instruments of Self-defense by Papists against Protestants; and the never-enough-to-be-detested Self-defense of the Inquisition it felf, and its Unequal'd Torments, made use of in Spain and other Parts of the Christian World, (fo call'd,) for the necessary Defense of the Popist Constitution of several Realms, against Those who differ from The Establish d Religion; which, without fuch Bulwarks, would be in Danger of being destroyed by Reason and Argument.

I have shewn that it is a Prostitution of the Holy Sacrament to apply it to a Purpose of a different Nature, from what the Great Institutor folemnly appropriated it to; and to make That the Tool of This World, which He order'd to And

have respect only to Another.

And if ALL Subjects would confider Themselves as Civil Subjects, not differing in that respect One from Another; and if ALL the several Churches of Christians would constantly remember that They are Christians; and ALL Protestants would never suffer Themselves to forget the Only Foundation of Protestantism: I am confident, They would not, any of them, return Me Repreaches for my Endeavours to shew Them their True Common Interest; but would ALL plainly see both the Justice and Necessity of openly avowing Those Principles, which I have once more laid before Them. To which End I can do nothing farther, but recommend what I have faid to their Impartial and Serious Confideration.

FINIS.



Civil Sulles would consider Them-

Page 29. 1. 18. After fear, add, too often to be found. 16. 1. 20. After remember'd, add, I would not be supposed to mean, in this, or other Passages of the like Nature, that there is a Natural Impossibility in the Case; or that it is not strictly possible for any Communicant, during the Time of Celebration, by a very difficult Abstraction of Thought, entirely to forget this Civil Purpose. But this Natural Possibility will not prove that what I fay of the Communicant, going to receive for this Purpose, is not generally and ordinarily true; por at all affect what I have faid about the Act it self. P. 34. 1. 6. from the Bottom, After Witnesses; add, according to his own Account of this Act -. P. 52. 1 9. After it, add, whilst He continues ordinarily in public Communion with Any Dif-Senting Congregation.

N. B. As to the Test Act, it should have been observed expressly, throughout this Book, that the Whole Debate is about the Sacramental Test; not about the Other Tests required in it.

The Pages of the Dean's Book here referr'd to, are quoted according to the First Edition.

Page 6. in the Title of the Chapter, for Que-



